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The Viability of the Volunteers in Courts Programs: An Analysis of the Conceptual Foundations and Empirical Research

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THE VIABILITY OF THE VOLUNTEERS IN COURTS
PROGRAMS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE
CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATIONS AND
EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Sociology
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by

Eleanor Margaret Baker

1974

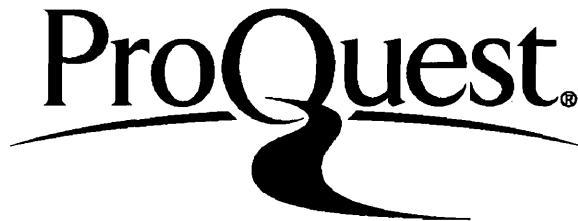
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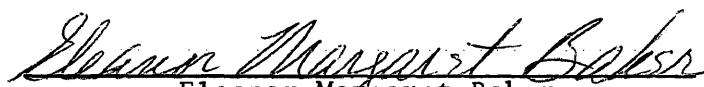
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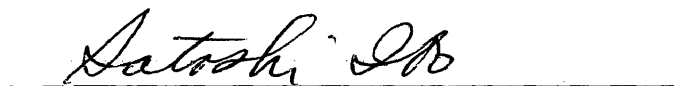
APPROVAL SHEET


This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts


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Approved, August, 1974


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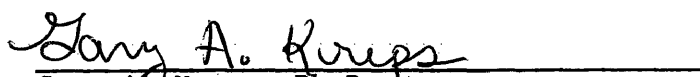

Gary A. Kreps, Ph.D.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this analysis is to assess the potential of the volunteer probation officer as an alternative rehabilitation resource. The origins and development of probation are reviewed with attention to the role played by unpaid workers in the inception of that treatment mode. The early promise of probation as a rehabilitative and preventive tactic has not been fulfilled due to at least three readily identifiable problems: (1) excessive caseloads, (2) the inherent difficulties in counseling an involuntary client, and (3) the reluctance of the community to allow reentry of the offender as a "member in good standing." A revival of the use of volunteers as probation officers has recently emerged as a proposed solution to this three-fold problem. Examination of the related literature and empirical research revealed assessments of the rehabilitative potential of the role of the volunteer ranging from exuberance to cautious acceptance. Inquiry into the theoretical foundations from which treatment plans might evolve in the volunteer programs resulted in the discovery of both diversity and ambiguity. Analysis of the empirical research with emphasis on the methodological quality of the evaluative studies led to the conclusion that volunteers can be said to function as effectively as probation officers, and that they may constitute a highly effective alternative to professional manpower when utilized in the context of a comprehensive treatment plan.

Potential problem areas for the volunteer programs are indicated, and it is urged that the directors of such programs recognize their obligations to the offenders, to the workers, and to the society. An awareness of their accountability should lead them to innovate a treatment rationale with clearly defined goals and objectives. Only in this manner can a meaningful assessment be made of the degree of effectiveness of the volunteer probation officer. And only when that effectiveness has been established can further expenditures of time, money and manpower be justified. Given the small percentage of the population who contribute their time to volunteer endeavors and the improbability of changes in the value system of the society, a pessimistic view of the impact of volunteers in the reduction of criminality is advanced.

THE VIABILITY OF THE VOLUNTEERS IN COURTS
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In 1841, a Boston bootmaker initiated what can be considered as the first probation services. Acting without the authority of the court, and dependent on the tolerance of the judge, John Augustus attempted to rehabilitate offenders who had been brought before a Boston court. With only his good intentions to go on, Augustus provided assistance for over 2,000 men, women, and children in his eighteen years of work. It must be assumed that he achieved results persuasive of the effectiveness of probation as a correctional modality for in 1878 a law was enacted which authorized the mayor of Boston to appoint a probation officer as a paid member of the police force with duties similar to those of contemporary probation officers (Dressler, 1969: 27). In the area of juvenile probation, however, the work was not immediately taken over by professionals. The records of the Cook County Juvenile Court for 1900, for example, indicate the role played by unpaid volunteer workers. The court personnel consisted of:

- 1) six probation officers paid from private sources, particularly the Chicago Woman's Club,
- 2) "one colored woman who devotes her entire time to the work, free of charge, and whose services are invaluable to the court as she takes charge of all the colored children,"
- 3) twenty-one truant officers paid by and responsible to the Board of Education,
- 4) sixteen police officers, paid by the Chicago Police Department, assigned to "assist the general probation officers in

their visitation work,"

5) thirty-six private citizens who were occasionally responsible for supervising children on probation [Platt, 1969: 139-40].

The source of probation workers notwithstanding, it was primarily through the juvenile courts that the use of probation as a type of correctional treatment grew with legislation authorizing probation for juveniles being enacted state by state until currently juvenile probation services are authorized in all federal and state jurisdictions. At the adult level, the situation was similar, and, by 1967, all fifty states had formally authorized probation (Dressler, 1969: 29-30).

Indeed, today, probation is the single most likely judicial disposition of most types of cases. This is illustrated by the fact that in 1965 slightly more than half of all offenders sentenced to any kind of correctional treatment were placed on probation (The President's Commission, 1967a: 27). In the future, it will almost certainly become even more widely used. A recent report, for example, recommended that at least half of the current prison population in Virginia should be placed on probation or parole (The Daily Press, April 28, 1974: 1).

Although the efficacy of probation has often been challenged, there is evidence to suggest that it is an effective means of rehabilitation, particularly when officially recorded recidivism is used as the indicator. In a California study, for example, 11,638 probationers were followed up after seven years. Almost 72 percent completed their

probation terms without revocation (The President's Commission, 1967b: 166). Similarly, Caldwell (1951: 3-12) looked at post-probation success after eleven years for Federal probationers in Alabama and found that 83.6 percent had committed no new offenses. While the findings on probation and parole are difficult to evaluate, "so many imponderables involved, so many variables unconsidered [Dressler, 1969: 267]" the evidence indicates that over 50 percent, perhaps as many as 70 percent, are not formally identified as recidivists while under supervision or afterwards.

Yet probation is not as effective a rehabilitative tool as these figures or its popularity would imply. What was intended to divert the offender from further involvement with the court may become instead his entry point into the criminal justice system. According to a Law Enforcement Assistance Administration report, the probation officer has "the responsibility for between 80 [to] 95 percent of those individuals who are destined to commit our future felonies, our most serious crimes [U.S. Department of Justice, 1973: 19]." Obviously, the potential of probation services for rehabilitation and prevention is not being realized as fully as many had hoped.

There are several readily apparent problems that may in part account for the failure of probation to fulfill its goal. Not all countries provide probation service, nor is it always adequate if provided. For example, the survey conducted by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency in 1967 revealed that all counties in

thirty-one states had juvenile probation staff service, and that 74 percent of all counties in the United States

theoretically had such service, but in some it was quite minimal. In sixteen states that did not have probation staff coverage in every county, at least some services were available to courts in some counties from persons other than paid, full-time probation officers. . . . In 165 counties in four states, no juvenile probation services at all were available [Dressler, 1969: 29].

A significant number of jurisdictions lack probation or parole facilities of any sort for misdemeanor offenders. Of the 250 counties studied in the national corrections survey, one-third provided no probation service at all (The President's Commission, 1967b: 166).

Ohio provides an illustration of the inadequacy of existing services:

twenty-five counties had full-time probation officers assigned to supervise adult probationers in 1965; thirty-five counties had part-time officers; eleven had no probation services whatever. Including the eleven with no service, a total of seventeen counties spent no county funds whatever in 1963 to provide probation service [Dressler, 1969: 30].

The lack of services is compounded by other factors. In one state which had a statute allowing for the placement of juveniles on probation, for instance,

only two counties furnished staff to work with the youngsters. In others, probationers received no supervision or treatment whatever by any official agent of the court. The juveniles were assumed to be adjusting satisfactorily unless and until they showed up in court on a new charge [The President's Commission, 1967a: 27].

This problem of available manpower is one of monstrous proportions.

In the juvenile field, there is an immediate need to increase the number of probation and parole officers from the present 7,706 to approximately 13,800. . . . It is estimated that a total of 23,000 officers will be required by 1975 to carry out the functions essential to community treatment of juveniles.

For adult felons, there is an immediate need for almost three times the number of probation and parole officers currently employed. . . . population projections point to a requirement of a total of 23,000 officers in 1975.

The need for officers for misdemeanants is staggering; 15,400 officers are needed as against 1,944 currently employed. The number needed in 1975 is estimated at 22,000 [The President's Commission, 1967b: 166-67].

Currently, the probation officer's caseload may range from the "normal" of fifty to seventy cases to as many as several hundred with whom contact is maintained through telephone or mail (Burnett, 1969: 286). The effectiveness of any professional expertise he may have brought to the probation setting will certainly be diminished by the sheer weight of numbers.

Aside from these obvious limitations, there are additional difficulties that are inherent in the nature of probationer--probation officer relationships. Originally, probation was intended to rehabilitate and reintegrate the offender into the community, not merely to monitor his movements and occupational status. The relationship between the offender and the probation officer was conceived as a therapeutic one designed to "help the offender with all phases of his life, as well as monitoring his capacity for discipline and self-control [Empey, 1972: 363]." Even assuming that the contemporary probation officer could become qualified for this demanding role, the expectations are clearly contradictory. After World War II, the occupation was filled almost exclusively by full-time professionals who were employed by the court. The role of the probation officer took on characteristics of an authority figure because of the

introduction of the element of power over the offender into what was initially conceptualized as an affective relationship. This has created a situation in which the "probation officer must function within the special structure of corrections in which he is both a representative of the punitive social control system as well as a helper [Gibbons, 1965: 224-25]." Further, not only must the probation officer cope with the handicap of being perceived as an authority figure, but he must also seek the trust and confidence of an offender who was assigned to this helping situation involuntarily and under circumstances not the most conducive to establishing an effective relationship. Lost is John Augustus' advantage of reaching a hand from the community to literally rescue an offender from imprisonment. The probation officer has emerged as merely another arm of the court.

From another perspective, the rehabilitation of a probationer solely through his involvement with professionals who are operating in a realm apart from the community has still other significant disadvantages. In particular, the stigmatizing effects of incarceration may have been avoided, but the offender has undergone a severe status degradation (Garfinkel, 1956). He has been singled out in a potent ritual as one who must be dealt with by specially-trained members of the social control agencies, as someone the community cannot handle. Thus, the stigma is there, regardless of the quality of the relationship between the probation officer and offender. Further, there is no correspondingly strong ritual to reintegrate the offender into the

community that provides for the alleviation of the estrangements that may have occurred between the offender and his ties to home, neighborhood, school or employment.

On balance, it would appear that the chances for a successful probation outcome are minimized by these and other drawbacks. Even assuming that the probation officer has the necessary capabilities to fulfill his role, he is handicapped in at least three areas: (1) the excessive caseloads, (2) the inherent difficulties in counseling an involuntary client, and (3) the reluctance of the community to allow reentry of the offender as a "member in good standing."

Presently viewed as a potential solution to this three-fold problem, the volunteer probation officer has reappeared in the probation services. The expectation is that the very fact of his being a volunteer from the community provides certain advantages. Unpaid manpower is provided. Assigned on a one-to-one basis, the increased frequency of contact with the offender is expected to enhance the likelihood that an effective counseling relationship will be established. Not an employee of the court, the volunteer is more likely to be perceived by the offender as a helper rather than as an authority figure. Acting as a "go-between," it is hoped that the volunteer can facilitate the reentry of the offender into the community and thereby mitigate the effects of stigmatization associated with adjudication.

While volunteer groups have been active for some time in

correctional institutions and in preventive programs such as Big Brothers, the use of volunteers in the court probation services is a relatively recent revival of the work of John Augustus and the nineteenth-century "child-savers" (Platt, 1969), a revival that is generally credited to the efforts of Judge Keith Leenhouts in Royal Oak, Michigan (Burnett, 1969; Morris, 1970). Lacking court funds to hire a probation officer, Judge Leenhouts developed probation services dependent on volunteer assistance from the community in 1960. He soon reported such successes that other courts were prompted to follow his example (Morris, 1970), and the use of volunteers spread rapidly. By 1967, for example, the first volunteer conference included representatives from twenty courts which were utilizing volunteers. Only two years later, a Department of Health, Education and Welfare pamphlet reported that more than 125 courts and correctional systems were using volunteers in over 23,000 helping situations (U.S. Department of Justice, 1973: 20).

In 1972 a national survey, conducted by the National Center on Volunteerism for the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, found that approximately two-thirds of the criminal justice agencies in the United States reported some significant involvement of volunteers in their helping-service oriented programs [Scheier, et al., 1973: 1].

It was in the planning of an evaluation of one such court program that a question emerged: What makes them think this will work? A full-time coordinator of volunteer services had been hired, orientation programs for the recruitment and training of volunteers had been set up, which required a considerable expenditure of time and

effort as well as funds for films, literature, and so on. The judges and probation staff had been enlisted to support efforts for program success, and approximately twenty pairs of offenders and sponsors were already working together. The suspicion arose that the volunteer in court was being touted because of anticipated rather than demonstrated results.

To question the propriety of the use of volunteers appears to throw open to question the validity of the Judeo-Christian ethic, reference to its Biblical roots being a popular refrain in the volunteer movement (Burnett, 1969; Leenhouts, 1964; Meyer and Kiessling, 1972; Morris, 1970; U.S. Department of Labor, 1969). When the plea was made for evaluation at an early conference, Judge Leenhouts replied,

I agree that we need real careful evaluation on the use of volunteers, and we have such research in progress at Royal Oak. But I would suggest that we should not lose sight of the fact that there is something mystical, something wonderful about the volunteer, and maybe we should not expect to put it all down in 1, 2, 3, 4 order. Maybe we should accept it as being part of God's mysterious way, part of the inspiration and ethics in the Judeo-Christian tradition of our country [U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1969: 4].

This orientation is fundamental to the overall tone of the movement.

Along with the moral dictate to become "my brother's keeper" which stands as a justification for attempts at behavior modification, there is a companion concept that suggests who that keeper should be. This was succinctly stated by Judge William Burnett of the Denver County Court:

It seems silly that we have so long cowered before the crime

problem in this country when we have the most able, stable, highly educated and dedicated middle class citizenry that any civilization has ever produced. Moreover, our Christian and Jewish traditions impel us to take an interest in our fellowman. Perhaps it is time we use our greatest resource [Burnett, 1969: 289].

These attitudes are representative of the Volunteers-In-Probation (VIP), a segment of the volunteer movement reportedly claimed by Judge Leenhouts to include 2,000 volunteer programs which are spinoffs from the Royal Oak volunteer project (Volunteers for Social Justice, 1974: 5).

The plea for evaluation to which Judge Leenhouts was responding was, no doubt, that of Dr. Ivan Scheier, Director of the National Information Center on Volunteerism (NICOV) and principal spokesman for that group. An early research endeavor in Boulder, Colorado, led to the establishment of NICOV in that city to act as a "clearinghouse" for volunteer information and maintain extensive files of relevant literature. A newsletter, Volunteers for Social Justice, is published quarterly to disseminate information on the frequent conferences and workshops, keeps subscribers up-to-date on recent research, and serves as a forum wherein ideas may be exchanged. Other NICOV publications include the "Frontier Series," consisting of research reports and bibliographies. Additionally, NICOV is the source of the bulk of publications sponsored by federal agencies giving both general information on volunteerism and technical assistance to courts using volunteers. Also, consultations and "needs assessments" are conducted by NICOV staff members to assist courts in implementing volunteer programs.

At this point, the Volunteers-In-Probation, which is linked

philosophically to the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, and NICOV appear to be undergoing a schism due to their philosophical differences (Volunteers for Social Justice, 1974: 1).¹ The basis for conflict is almost certainly the tendency of VIP to rely on good intentions and the belief that the desire to help others is innately efficacious in the rehabilitation process. Further, the inspirational overtones of VIP appear to be inconsistent with the stated intention of NICOV to shore up volunteer programs with empirical evidence of effectiveness and to determine the future direction of the movement on that basis.

The effectiveness of the volunteer-in-court program must certainly be demonstrated if it is to attain the status of an accepted treatment mode in the correctional system. The intent to "do good" provides no justification for the initiation of correctional treatment: A humanitarian impulse is not synonymous with a rehabilitative technique, nor are all changes in juvenile court operations necessarily progressive. Thus, the purpose of this paper is to examine the evidence that purports to establish the effectiveness of the volunteer as a viable solution to some of the problems thwarting the rehabilitative capabilities of probation. Unquestionably, those involved in the movement regard the assignment of a volunteer probation

¹This schism might well have been predicted from the NICOV version of the history of the volunteer movement described in a 1973 publication. The court programs of Pontiac, Michigan; New York City; Eugene, Oregon; and Lawrence, Kansas are reported to have begun in the 1950s. No mention is made of Royal Oak, Michigan (Scheier, et al., 1973: 1).

officer to an offender as constituting a rehabilitative treatment. If it is to be so accepted, it must be demonstrated that this treatment conforms to the same criteria for acceptance as any other modality. Concurring with Gibbons' assertion that effective treatment is "contingent upon valid behavioral theory [Gibbons, 1965: 137]," it is to the theory underlying the role of the volunteer that attention will first be directed. It is upon these assumptions regarding causation that the treatment rationale depends.

Therapy for correctional "clients" consists of explicit tactics or procedures deliberately undertaken to change those conditions thought to be responsible for the violator's misbehavior. Treatment implies some rationale or causal argument to the effect that the criminal behavior of the individual stems from some particular set of factors or conditions. In turn, the steps which are taken to "change" or rehabilitate the offender are designed to alter some or all of the conditions specified in the treatment rationale as causally responsible for the person's undesirable behavior [Gibbons, 1965: 130].

Unless the role of the volunteer is firmly seated in an easily generalizable treatment rationale which is adaptable to any court setting, regardless of the specific people involved, it will remain one limited by the personal characteristics of the individual volunteer. It might be expected, then, that studies evaluating volunteer effectiveness will reflect this, and that results will be somewhat spotty--successful in one program, not in another. Studies purporting to evaluate volunteer effectiveness will be examined in order to make this determination. The guiding question is simple. Are the volunteer programs, in fact, based upon formulated treatment rationale that thereby enhances chances for success or are there

methodological loopholes through which "volunteer effectiveness" has slipped in the guise of a measurable variable?

Summary

In this chapter, the origins and development of probation as a correctional treatment mode have been reviewed. The recent revival of the use of volunteers was demonstrated to have been conceived as a promising solution to the problems impeding the rehabilitative potential of probation. Chapter II provides an examination of the several theoretical orientations that are either implicitly or explicitly reflected in the volunteer movement. An evaluation of the relevant empirical research on volunteer programs is contained in Chapter III in order to examine the relative effectiveness of volunteer probation officers. Finally, in Chapter IV, an attempt is made to evaluate the present status and future direction of volunteer programs.

CHAPTER II

THE CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS FOR THE USE OF VOLUNTEERS IN COURTS

Unlike such correctional programs that are clearly based on explicit theoretical assumptions as the Highfields Project (McCorkle, et al., 1958) and the Provo Experiment (Empey and Rabow, 1961), the various volunteers in courts programs did not develop as theoretically-grounded treatment entities, but rather as tangential modes of treatment that developed within the more inclusive structure of probation services. Thus, they are most closely linked to the assumptions implicit in the traditional approach of probation. These assumptions suggest that

1. a community-based program is an appropriate alternative to institutionalization for certain types of offenders, and

2. the establishment of a counseling relationship within community-based programs is an effective treatment tactic.

In short, the volunteer has simply been inserted into the larger framework of the probation programs as an unpaid employee of the court and represents an attempt to intensify certain aspects of the role of the probation officer, a role which continues to lack a coherent and consistent theoretical position. The logic is simple, though possibly specious. If probation is effective, and if the use of volunteers intensifies the level of contact with the offender, then the volunteer

should prove efficacious. Stated more simply, if some probation is a good thing, then a lot of probation should be even better.

Although the presence of a well-formulated theoretical model can be expected to increase the relative efficiency and effectiveness of any program, the general lack of a clearly articulated model in volunteer programs certainly does not necessarily doom them to failure. To the contrary, a reconstruction of the logic in use in such treatment efforts might be expected to identify the unintentional application of sound treatment principles. The example provided by Volkman and Cressey (1963) in their examination of the Synanon program for addicts is instructive in this regard. This program appeared to be effective, but not because of the purposeful application of a treatment rationale based on valid theoretical assumptions. Instead, Cressey and Volkman note that the program provided an unintentional test of Cressey's formulation of five sociological principles for the rehabilitation of criminals, all of which are tied to the theory of differential association with which Cressey has been so closely associated. They determined that the Synanon program did, in fact, employ those principles, although it did so unwittingly.

Programs based on volunteers as probation officers should be amenable to a similar type of analysis. Although couched in informal language, the theoretical implications are clearly present in literature describing the role of the volunteer. Indeed, at least three basic theoretical orientations are reflected in this literature. Because of the disparity and potential conflict which exists between the focus of

each of these orientations, it is useful to examine the primary assertions of each perspective separately.

Personality Theory

First, and most obviously, the notion of "counselors" can be interpreted as a reflection of the client-centered therapy technique associated with Carl Rogers (1958). His two central hypotheses were:

1. the individual has within him the capacity, at least latent, to understand the factors in his life that cause him unhappiness and pain, and to reorganize himself in such a way as to overcome these factors;
2. these powers will become effective if the therapist can establish with the client a relationship sufficiently warm, accepting and understanding [Rogers, 1958: 389-90].

Compare this with the description of a volunteer sponsor included in a Volunteer-In-Probation study:

these citizens are a most important part of the rehabilitation program. . . . the successful operation of this phase of the program depends upon one factor: the establishment of an inspirational relationship of trust and confidence between the probationer and the member of the community who by education and background has the ability to help the probationer change his attitude toward himself and society [Koschtial, 1969: 13].

Similarly, the Orientation Manual of the Court Counselor Program in Peoria, Illinois states that its goal is to "change the basic character defects that cause the anti-social behavior" of the probationers "by inserting into their lives that inspiring personality who has been missing--a person who will serve as a respected counselor and trusted friend [Davison, 1972: 1]." Looking back to Gibbons' criteria, it is clear that the causal argument implied here is a psychogenic one. Further, this perspective assumes that (1) the

offender has basic character defects which (2) can be corrected by interaction with a stable adult, and (3) that the offender has lacked such an association.

In the volunteer program of the Lincoln-Lancaster Municipal Court, Lincoln, Nebraska, limitations surround the application of Rogerian counseling techniques. Differentiating between types of relationships that may be established between volunteer and offender, a further discrimination is made between those offenders who are suitable candidates for "primary counseling" and those who need a "friend-companion" (Moore, 1973: 8). In the former case, the probationer has been identified as one who is suffering from

personal or emotional problems which can be aided by talking about them. The probationer is a verbal youth who has some insight into himself and causes of his problems [who] experiences relief through talking and is able to make some changes in himself by talking through the problems [Moore, 1972: 9].

The counseling role in this relationship is undertaken most often by volunteers with professional training, such as persons with master degrees in counseling or graduate students in counseling fields (Moore, 1972: 9). The second type of counseling relationship is defined as one in which the offender "is rebelling against the family and/or community. The youth requires a dependable friend whom he or she can trust [Moore, 1972: 8]." The appropriate volunteer to be assigned is identified as one within a few years of the probationer's age who has similar interests. But, no particular skill in intensive counseling is necessary (Moore, 1972: 8). In making this important

distinction, the expectation of successful probation outcomes is enhanced for both types of volunteer assignment. Still, a crucial factor in the application of Rogerian personality therapy may be insufficiently stressed when the "client" is an offender. The successful application of Rogerian techniques demands that the client come to see his behavior as a problem to himself as well as to others. Correctional clients often do not perceive this (Gibbons, 1965: 157). Further, the conditions causing "unhappiness and pain" may be largely external rather than psychic, and deviant behavior may often be a response to structural constraints that block an individual's access to legitimate means of achieving desired goals.

Social Learning Theory

A second theoretical orientation apparent in the literature of the volunteers in courts is that of the social learning theorists. While this perspective is as easily discernible as that of client-centered therapy, the modification of behavior is accomplished through more subtle techniques.

Put simply, the presentation of a prosocial model to a child is expected to provide a model upon which he can pattern his behavior. New behavioral responses would then be reinforced by the approval or by the positive consequences he perceives as resulting from those behavioral patterns (cf. Bandura, 1971). Davison calls attention to this aspect of the interaction between the volunteer and the probationer and makes clear his reservations about "the ethical

implications of imposing one person on another as a model" in the context of the Court Counselor Program (Davison, 1971: 7). This reluctance, however, is not shared by all members of the movement. Rather, the report of the Boulder Conference of Volunteer Courts reveals encouragement of the modeling process by several of its speakers. There were two prominent ones:

Thomas Koschtial, Chief Counselor and Research Director, Royal Oak, Michigan: The probationer has usually had a life of failure and his early life models are frequently based on failure, too. If he can look at the volunteer as a successful person, hopefully he will learn by identifying with this successful person and he will emulate him. In this way, treatment of the offender is a learning process. [Emphasis as in original.]

Judge William H. Burnett, Denver County Court: Probationers tend to be of the lower socioeconomic group, from core city areas, people who've never had a close relationship with a single reliable person. With these people, volunteer programs match the higher socioeconomic class from suburbia: well-motivated, more educated, competent, capable, and adequate. They can serve as positive models for the probationer, for in a sense we are all what we are because of the models we have accepted [U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1973: 25-26].

One begins to suspect that along with the tradition of humanitarianism that has grown out of the Judeo-Christian ethic, there lurk some middle-class assumptions about "what we all want to be when we grow up." Regardless of this, to accept the presentation of a model as an appropriate treatment technique for the offender, it must be assumed that

1. the conditions responsible for the antisocial behavior are traceable to the absence of a prosocial role model;
2. the volunteer constitutes an acceptable role model upon whom the offender can pattern his behavior realistically;

3. the approval of the volunteer provides sufficient motivation for learning new behavior;
4. that reinforcements are available to ensure the shaping process; and
5. that the offender is not exposed to more powerful reinforcing agents in his life that encourage delinquency.

For an example of the probation outcome that may result from the assumption that the presentation of a role model is a treatment tactic in and of itself, consider the hypothetical case of the apprentice "jive dude." This self-conception is an updated version of the "cat" who was described by Finestone as representing "an attempt to deal with problems of status and identity in a situation where participation in the life of the broader community is denied [Finestone, 1964, 290]." Such a probationer may be expected to benefit from his relationship with a volunteer by, for example, enjoying outings or sports activities he could not otherwise afford. However, he already has a role model, a respected member of his community whom he perceives as having attained the success-goals valued in the dominant social order. Thus, when our apprentice learns a little more about pimping, he, too, can obtain the trappings of status and success, including a positive self-image that can enable him to someday serve as a role model for future generations of jive dudes. Consequently, the primary gains in this probation period may well be on the part of the volunteer who has a greatly enhanced self-concept for having given of himself in a helping relationship with a "disadvantaged child."

This outcome at least has not been harmful to the offender, but this cannot be thought to always be the case. Prior to the initiation of broad-sweeping structural changes in contemporary American society, a far more serious hazard is that the offender will come to aspire to unrealistic goals given his socioeconomic background, ability, and life-chances. Because volunteers tend to be predominantly middle-class and the offender typically of the lower socioeconomic levels, the pairing has the potential for heightening frustrations of both parties. The self-image of the offender will undoubtedly suffer as he aspires to newly-internalized but unobtainable goals. The volunteer may carry back to the community his sense of failure which can be translated to the generalized message that "they" are simply different and not likely to change.

Differential Association Theory

As correctional systems in general are becoming increasingly disenchanted with treatment approaches based on assumptions of psychogenic causation, so is the volunteer movement shifting its perspective and proposing treatment models with a rationale based on the principles of differential association theory. According to this theory,

a person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favorable to violation of law over definitions unfavorable to violation of law. . . . When persons become criminal, they do so because of contacts with criminal patterns and also because of isolation from anticriminal patterns [Sutherland and Cressey, 1974: 75-76].

Only recently has there been any strong evidence that a shift

from psychogenic to sociogenic causation might occur, and the individualized orientation has proven very resistant to change. As early as 1967, the summary of the Boulder Conference noted that

some participants . . . who are involved in the scientific study of delinquency, however, suggested that the psychological model of delinquency causation is of extremely limited value. Instead, a social causative model was advanced which focused on the communities in which delinquents live, and the structured delinquent ways of behaving which are not a form of deviance in lower class society but part of a shared culture [U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1973: 36].

It was six years before these words began to be heeded. Speaking for an "environmentally-centered treatment" of offenders in an address in Melbourne in 1973, Scheier presented four models of assignment of volunteer to client which indicated a new direction for the volunteer movement as well as some reluctance to relinquish the counseling model of the volunteer role.

(1) One-to-One. This most frequent mode of assignment is to be adapted to include the "significant others" in the offender's environment. The volunteer will act not so much as counselor to the offender as a minister to his environment, or to use Scheier's term, "an environmental facilitator." Functioning as a mediator, or ombudsman, he will confront agencies that are "mandated to provide services," thereby "coping" with the environment for the offender (Volunteer for Social Justice, February, 1974: 2).

(2) One-to-Many. The volunteer is assigned to work with a "social group to which the offender belongs, e.g., his family," or to a lay-counseled group of offenders. The latter case is conceived

as the deliberate assignment of the volunteer to the offender's social environment. It is not clear what causation is assumed here.

Assignment to the social environment would appear to carry with it the assumption that the causation is sociogenic in nature, but the treatment technique of counseling remains as one which is based on the assumption of psychological causation (Volunteers for Social Justice, 1974: 2).

(3) Many-to-One. Termed "environmental substitution"; the proposed treatment is that of the offender's being given a family surrogate or a volunteer foster home, and it does represent the first readily recognizable application of a behavioral theory in this context. The environment can be manipulated, a reference group presented which becomes the significant other upon whom he can model his behavior, and new patterns of behavior be reinforced and internalized (Volunteers for Social Justice, 1974: 2).

(4) Many-to-Many. This type of assignment involves a family-to-family, or volunteers-to-inmates approach. In Ottawa a counseling program is underway in which volunteers are inserted as participants in inmate counseling groups of similar numbers of volunteers and offenders.

Many believe that negative learning and isolation from normal social reality seriously offset any rehabilitation effort in closed or semi-closed settings. This being so, why should not volunteers actually move into these settings in goodly numbers, balancing the milieu against isolation from outside social reality, and counter-acting negative peer group learning [Volunteers for Social Justice, 1974: 2-3].

While it is clear that the direction of the volunteer movement as

presently envisioned by Dr. Scheier will not be one which limits the volunteer to the job of unpaid probation officer, the effects of the shift to an approach reflecting differential association theory remain to be seen.

Thus, it is not really surprising that there is only one study known to this researcher which includes an explicit statement of the theoretical principles which are to be employed in the initiation of a volunteer program. These theoretical guidelines were set out in accordance with the overall plan of the Ministry of Correctional Services in Canada to encourage citizen participation in the field of corrections (Meyer and Kiessling, 1972: 1). Essentially, the approach is that of differential association theory as restated by Burgess and Akers (1966):

In summary, the problem is one of establishing or reestablishing community control over the individual's behavior. Such control is only feasible when the offender is functioning within the community, i.e., when normative behavior is rewarded and deviant behavior results in the removal of rewards. For normative behavior to be rewarded it must be emitted, and to be emitted it must be acquired. For the removal of rewards (or the failure to present rewards) to be effective in controlling behavior, such rewards must have been previously presented. The function of the community programs is some combination of (1) assistance in the acquisition of appropriate behaviors and skills (for example, interpersonal skills, educational and vocational skills); (2) placing the individual in the appropriate community settings (school, job placements, social settings) where such behavior will be reinforced; and (3) facilitating the acquisition of anti-criminal and prosocial standards (values, beliefs, attitudes) and the self-approval of conduct with reference to such standards [Andrews in Kiessling, 1974: 12].

From this somewhat firmer theoretical position, assumptions which will determine the explicit treatment tactics evolve:

1) We make no assumption that any one approach is preferable for all offenders . . .

2) We assume that those offenders with whom volunteers will be successful suffer primarily from an alienation from their community . . .

3) Consequently, we assume that for this kind of offender rehabilitation is best accomplished by means of a community volunteer program . . .

4) We assume that certain offenders are more suitable to supervision by professional probation officers.

5) We assume that one of the crucial variables in the rehabilitative process lies in the kind of interpersonal relationship the professional or volunteer has with the offender . . .

6) We assume that for a specific offender, the success of our professional-volunteer system will depend on the accurate identification of four main dimensions.

a) type of program . . .

b) type of intervention . . .

c) type of offender . . .

d) type of worker . . . [Kiessling, 1974: 14-15].

Summary

Obviously, the volunteer program is one amenable to the use of theory instead of homilies, but the preponderance of literature in the United States which is directed to those responsible for program planning continues to lack a clear theoretical orientation. For example, the following "rationale" was first published in the quarterly newsletter of NICOV and included in 1972 in a weighty volume, Guidelines and Standards for the Use of Volunteers in Correctional Programs, that was published and distributed by the U.S. Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.

Individuality Theory of Delinquency: A Theory for Volunteers

Here is a theory of delinquency treatment which was never possible before, because volunteers uniquely make it possible. It is the first theory of delinquency which specifically depends on the use of volunteers, for its principal prescriptions are:

1. Each offender is uniquely an individual, no one else except himself. Being an offender does not make him a little tin soldier, stamped in a mold. He is as much an individual as any non-offender. So, out the window go all probation panaceas, because all of them clump offenders together under common conditions, common attitudes, common causation. You've heard these cure-alls before: "Print their names in the paper," "Jail the parents," "Inspire them," "Give them more positive opportunity," etc. Each of these works for some offenders (perhaps only a few), but none of them works for all or nearly all offenders. They don't work, except perhaps as a way of kidding ourselves, because each offender is an individual; and no two offenders have exactly the same causes or conditions. Indeed, over the past eight years, the writer has done psychological diagnoses on 1,750 individual juvenile and adult offenders. No two of these 1,750 were ever exactly alike. Individuality theory reserves a basic dignity to the offender--it says he is a unique human being; not just another cipher, another body in a faceless army. This is of course in the finest tradition of our country: respect for the individual.

2. Above all, if each offender is an individual and his offense individually caused, it makes sense to assign one treatment agent to each offender, so the treatment agent has time and opportunity to appreciate and work with the individuality of the offender.

3. Only with volunteers can you do this, and then only with good volunteer-probationer compatibility can you find just the right individual volunteer needed by each offender. (Notice, while individuality theory requires volunteers, it denies that just any volunteer can help just any offender.) Then, too, as the volunteer and offender use the gift of time together to get to know each other as special people, general role perceptions fade, and they get to know each other as unique individuals. If there is any magic in volunteerism, it is in this light emerging from intensive mutual understanding between two individual people, made possible by time together. But it is a different light every time.

Another beauty is that with volunteer-reduced caseloads, paid professionals can also come closer to the treatment ideal [Scheier, et al., 1972: 92]. [Emphasis as in original.]

Initially, of course, this is not a theory. Neither is it a treatment rationale. There are no "explicit tactics." Causal arguments are specifically avoided. No "clear steps" are proposed to alter the antisocial behavior. However, before dismissing this statement as an "apologia" for the volunteer probation officer, it is important to consider the audience to whom the publication is directed. Intended as a

source of technical assistance for those directly involved with the court programs, the informal language tends to obscure the underlying theoretical implication. "Individual causation" points strongly to a clinical/psychological model, with the real thrust directed toward one-to-one matching of volunteer to offender.

A rejection of any theoretical approach which takes note of recurring behavioral patterns or the probability of similar conditions giving rise to similar responses is clear. The door is apparently closed to each of the three theories mentioned in this discussion, and to a differential treatment approach, unless the number of approaches is equal to the number of offenders.

Obviously aware that volunteer programs are generally lacking in clear theoretical guidelines, Kiessling, and recently NICOV, advocate the development of a

consistent theory of volunteerism . . . A more systematic approach is needed, rather than one that simply "adds" volunteers to local courts and probation structures which themselves do not even possess a systematic and unified approach to crime. Without this, volunteer programs will be formed simply on vague intentions to do good to others; will be subject to a hit-or-miss approach toward individual clients; will be unable to assess their work since they have no clear position to assess [Meyer and Kiessling, 1972: 24].

It is proper that Kiessling use the future tense. The publication is directed to Canadian courts where the development of volunteer programs is expected to proceed from theory to treatment plan.

Kiessling is not "prophesying." There is sufficient evidence in the volunteer programs of American courts to substantiate his prediction.

An examination of studies relevant to volunteer effectiveness makes the

inadequacies of the present approach clear. Evaluating the effectiveness of the volunteer in the traditional probation setting results in a situation in which it is impossible to assess the role of the volunteer without also assessing the effectiveness of the overall treatment plan as conceived in that particular probation program in which the volunteer is utilized. In the following discussion of evaluative studies, these difficulties of analysis are apparent. Indeed, "volunteer effectiveness," as will be demonstrated in a review of the studies purporting to have isolated that variable, is an elusive variable.

CHAPTER III

EMPIRICAL RESEARCH ASSESSING THE
EFFECTIVENESS OF THE VOLUNTEERS
IN COURTS

This research began in late January of 1974 with the intention of planning and conducting an evaluation of one volunteer program. Primary emphasis was placed on obtaining empirical research studies. A search of both the Sociological and Psychological Abstracts was fruitless. Dissertation Abstracts International contained only two relevant studies (Howell, 1972; Matson, 1973). Correspondence with the U.S. Department of Justice, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, and the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare yielded publications designed for either general information regarding varieties of volunteer participation or manuals of technical assistance. Repeated requests to various agencies and researchers for literature led, in one instance, to an apologetic letter with the information that two copies of the same study were enclosed, thereby bringing the total to three copies of the same publication. A trip to the Government Printing Office in Washington, D. C. was followed over three months later by a list of available and largely irrelevant publications. Telephone conversations while in Washington were promising, but never fruitful with the exception of assistance that was provided by William Maio, managing editor of Federal Probation. Robert

Trudell, Corrections Specialist with the National Criminal Justice Reference Service, the computerized search and retrieval system of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, indicated in a recent telephone call that no information could be expected beyond that in the selected bibliography, "Abstracts on Volunteerism in Corrections." Only one of the forty-four abstracts contained in that bibliography, however, was a research evaluation, and it had been obtained several months previously. Articles requested from a new publication, Journal of Volunteers with Delinquents, never appeared.

In March, 1974, correspondence with Dr. Ivan Scheier, Director of NICOV, gave little encouragement:

You are perfectly correct on the difficulty of obtaining full copies of research, and indeed, even as regards summaries, you already have all that is available.

Our own files duplicate the National Science Foundation's (152 items at present), and are open to your inspection on a site visit. (A \$50.00. per day fee would be desirable but is not essential.)

The National Science Foundation files to which Dr. Scheier referred are in the process of being reviewed as part of a project under the direction of Thomas Cooke at the University of Illinois. In a telephone conversation, it was confirmed by Dr. Cooke that there is, in fact, a dearth of sophisticated research in the area of volunteers in courts, and that extreme difficulties in obtaining the materials that do exist are to be expected.

Thus, it was necessary to rely upon the NICOV publications, "Volunteers in the Correctional Spectrum: An Overview of Evaluation, Research and Surveys" (Shelley, 1971, 1972) and "Research in the Field

of Courts and Corrections: What Exists and What Is Needed" (Peters, 1973) to identify much of the pertinent literature. A total of fifty-three letters requesting materials were sent, but the return was not as great as had been hoped. Studies have been "misplaced," the supply exhausted, or present addresses of researchers are unknown. Of the sixteen studies reported by Peters to be directed to impact questions, thirteen were considered relevant to this paper; eight have been obtained in full; five in abstract form. It was particularly unfortunate that the full text of the Boulder County Juvenile Delinquency Project could not be obtained, but the loan supply was depleted by borrowers. However, a lengthy summary was available.

In examining the empirical studies, the evaluational criteria to be employed are those set out by Campbell (1957) with attention being directed to the sufficiency of the research design for establishing that the experimental variable, assignment to a volunteer, did, in fact, have an influence on the relevant dependent variables. Specifically, are the changes reported in probationers clearly attributable to the fact of their being assigned a volunteer sponsor?

This determination of the effect of the experimental variable is referred to by Campbell as the "internal validity" of the research design. There are several categories of variables whose effects may be confounded with the effects of the experimental variable unless the effects of those extraneous variables are controlled by the design of the experimental research. Additionally, the extent to which the results can be generalized to other populations, the "external validity"

of the design, is dependent upon the control of the effects of those extraneous variables, which may be seen as occurring "independent of, or in addition to the effects of the experimental variable; as interactions the effects appear in conjunction with the experimental variable [Campbell, 1957: 305]." In the latter case of interactive effects, the external validity of the research suffers most. Because of the difficulties in separating the effects of probation itself from the effects of volunteer assignment, the control of these extraneous variables is of increased importance. Unfortunately, some researchers in the area of volunteers in probation have overcome these difficulties by ignoring them.

Illustrations of Evaluational Criteria

In order to clarify Campbell's criteria for the general reader, several studies have been selected from the research available which demonstrate in their methodological shortcomings the threats to internal and external validity. This approach is not taken for the purpose of exposing these studies to harsh criticism, but, rather, to provide examples of the points that are of importance in reviewing the more complex studies.

Illustrative of most of the threats to internal validity is the study, "Impact of Probationers in Probation Program," by Lonergan. (An abstract of this study was necessarily relied upon as copies are no longer available from the court involved in the research.) A "select group" of twenty probationers were given the Busse-Durkee Hostility

Scale before and after several months of assignment to a volunteer sponsor.

Assault feelings improved as did irritability and suspicion. Negativism, resentment, verbal hostility and guilt feelings did not change significantly. Educational level went up for 25 per cent of the group. 65 per cent of the group were again fully employed after the end of several months with a sponsor [Shelley, 1971: 25].

In research of this one group, pretest-posttest design, no control group is employed, thus leaving several categories of extraneous variables uncontrolled in their effects.

(1) The Effect of History. During the pretest-posttest time span, the events which have occurred in addition to the assignment of a volunteer may affect the test results and their effects are unknown. Particularly, in research outside a controlled environment, the effect of history is relevant. The addition of a control group selected for its comparability to the experimental group would have allowed Lonergan's research to assess the effects of the volunteer on the probationer, apart from the uncontrolled effects of extra-experimental events in that both groups would have been affected by them.

(2) The Effect of Maturation. This includes those effects which are "systematic with the passage of time [Campbell, 1957: 306]," and is particularly relevant when the experimental population consists of youthful offenders. The effects of this variable would have appeared in a comparison of test results from the experimental group with those of a group assigned to regular probation, or, ideally, in a comparison with a group of nonoffenders.

(3) The Effect of Testing Itself. "It is often true that persons taking a test for the second time make scores systematically different from those taking the test for the first time [Campbell, 1957: 307]." This extraneous variable can be controlled by employing a test which has been determined to be nonreactive, and by utilizing a control group tested only at the end of the experimental period. In probation research, it is difficult to prevent the "Hawthorne effect." The offenders may be responding positively due to their awareness of having been participants in an experimental procedure, or to the effects of the increased attention, rather than to the direct effect of the independent variable.

(4) The Effect of Selection. This variable is of particular importance when assessing probation outcomes. An offender may be selected for his potential for rehabilitation by community-based treatment, or simply because it was his first offense, or even because there are limited alternatives available to the court. Further, within the group of offenders who are placed on probation, assignment to a volunteer is based on a voluntary choice made by the offender. Thus, his participation in this experimental group is to some extent based on factors governing judicial disposition, and partly on "self-selection." In the Lonergan study, the criteria regarding selection were not included in the abstract, however, the use of the Busse-Durkee Hostility Scale indicates that the group was probably selected for its extremity on the variables it measures. Again, the employment of a control group of similar offenders who were not working with a volunteer

sponsor would have provided a more meaningful assessment of those positive changes reported.

(5) Multiple Treatment Interference. When an offender is placed on probation, there may be several rehabilitative techniques regularly employed by the probation department in their routine program, in addition to the counseling provided by the volunteer. It is difficult, then, to assess the effectiveness of the volunteer as an isolated variable apart from the effects of these treatments.

Additional examples of the inadequacy of several types of research designs in controlling for sources of variance have been provided by those seeking to establish volunteer effectiveness. A 1968 group thesis for the School of Social Work of the University of Denver attacked the problem of volunteer effectiveness through examination of court records and by fixed-alternative and open-ended interviews with forty-five pairs of offenders and volunteers (Shelley, 1971: 36-38). There was no control group, no pretest-posttest design, but merely an ex post facto, "one-shot" study by Zaphiris and students of the opinions of the subjects regarding the volunteer program. The effects of history, maturation, selection and of increased attention resulting from inclusion in an experimental program are unknown. A total of fifteen alphabetically-assigned interviewers were used, thus introducing an additional source of variance affecting the internal validity of the research design, that of "instrument decay" (Campbell, 1957: 308). When using a large number of interviewers, their individual variations in technique may be confounded with the effects of the

experimental variable. And, while the opinions of the probationers are highly favorable toward the volunteer program, these may, in fact, have been what Campbell termed "grateful testimonials" (Campbell, 1969: 426).

It should be noted that despite these methodological shortcomings, one finding emerges as a possible contribution to future program-planning. Probationers found guilty of traffic violations felt that the volunteer had been less effective than those on probation for theft, according to the abstract obtained (Shelley, 1971: 37). This suggests that care should be exercised in determining the utilization of rehabilitation resources. Apparently, a therapeutic counseling relationship is not indicated for all offenders simply because they were placed on probation.

Using a control group, but with a very small population, Beier compared twenty volunteer-assigned probationers to twelve staff-assigned offenders in terms of demographic data, and in the quality, frequency and length of meetings with the supervisor. While the research design would appear to be experimental, it is best termed "pre-experimental" (Campbell, 1957: 309), as there is no means of ascertaining the equivalence of the groups at the time of inclusion in the experiment, except in terms of the demographic data. While less recidivism was reported for the volunteer-assigned group, the burden of proof of the effectiveness of the volunteer rests largely on self-report of probationer evaluations. More probationers assigned to volunteers felt they had received help, felt helped to self-understanding, and felt their supervisor helped them stay out of trouble, according to the summary

provided by Shelley (1972: 3-4). Thus, even the use of a control group does not ensure results that are generalizable to other offender populations. In addition to the questionable reliability of subjective evaluations, this group of volunteer-assigned probationers was again a group which was "self-selected." The willingness to work with a volunteer perhaps indicates the greater likelihood of a successful probation outcome. A study of this type may be reassuring to the court immediately involved and assist in securing refunding, but is of little significance beyond that.

Looking at recidivism as an indicator, the "Statistical Analysis of Effectiveness of Volunteer Probation Officer Aides" (Madsen, 1971), might be expected to root the variable of volunteer effectiveness in hard data. However, no control group was employed, and no information beyond that of recidivism rates is included. Amazing success is reported for twenty-six probationers selected from 136 working with volunteer probation officer aides.

The 26 probationers studied have 30 1970 referrals prior to having a VPOA assigned and 17 referrals subsequent to this assignment. To find if this difference of number of referrals is significant, a Chi square statistic was computed between those observed number of referrals and the number expected had the VPOA not exerted an influence. It was found that the probability that this difference would occur without the influence of the volunteer was less than 1%. Thus there is a greater than 99% probability that this program reduces recidivism [sic] [Madsen, 1971: 1].

Clearly, there is no way to account for the effects of the variable of probation itself, nor is there any indication of control of the effects of other variables intervening in the probation period. While the volunteers of Black Hawk County, Iowa, may be gratified by these

results, the study is of limited general utility, because of the quality of the research design.

In a study conducted by Hale and Nivon for the Nebraska Human Resources Foundation of the University of Nebraska, the effectiveness of the volunteer was sought through the measurement of changes in school behavior, attendance and grades, the self-concept as a learner, and in attitudes toward school (Shelley, 1972: 5-6). Data were gathered from school records, an attitude checklist, ratings by two teachers and a counselor on each boy in a pretest-posttest method with a six-month intervening period. Positive changes in self-concept, absenteeism, grades, and attitudes are reported. The population included eight boys from rural counties, and fourteen from the urban county which participated in the Volunteer Court Counselor Project. There is no control group, and while comparisons are possible between urban and rural youth, there can be no conclusions drawn about the role of the volunteer in effecting these positive changes. Again, the effects of history, maturation, and testing are left uncontrolled. A factor to be considered is that of the "Hawthorne effect," that is, the boys may have responded to increased attention, resulting from the experiment itself, the volunteer, or the teachers. (The positive changes in grades and attitudes reported to have occurred in a six-month period are inconsistent with data to be discussed in a later study.)

In using these research studies to illustrate the methodological considerations which are crucial to determining the effectiveness of

volunteer probation officers, the implication that only research of a rigid experimental design can contribute to the success of the volunteer programs was not intended. For example, the work of Horejsi (1972) opened the question of involvement of the family in the rehabilitation process and was of importance in future program planning. Using parents' perceptions of the effect of volunteers on juvenile probationers, changes in behavior and attitudes attributable to volunteer intervention were reported as measured by parents' responses to a thirty-seven-item ordinal scale. Evidence is presented which supported his conclusion that in the case of juveniles, volunteer intervention is not likely to be effective unless the volunteer can also work effectively with the probationer's family. This is a finding that, no doubt, influenced the recent trend in NICOV to move toward a volunteer role which includes "ministering to the environment of the offender [Volunteers for Social Justice, 1974: 2]."

Using these criteria as the standards for judgment, the analysis of the early demonstration projects and the evaluations of programs generated by their reported success reveals a pattern wherein the degree of positive changes in offenders attributed to the effects of volunteer assignment diminishes in magnitude as methodological treatment of the data improves. These studies fall into four categories: the demonstration projects, court-conducted evaluations, evaluations by outside investigators, and experimental research using court volunteer programs as field settings.

Early Demonstration Projects

"Project Misdemeanant"

As was noted earlier, perhaps the best known research study in the area of volunteers in courts is that of Royal Oak, Michigan. It was in this court that Judge Leenhouts began his pairing of probationer to volunteer in the early 1960s, and regardless of reports of the prior use of volunteers in other courts (Scheier, et al., 1973: 1); it is this court that has received the greatest popular renown through the publicity generated by Judge Leenhouts' enthusiasm, a book telling "the Royal Oak story" (Morris, 1970), and articles in such diverse publications as Crime and Delinquency (Leenhouts, 1964) and Reader's Digest (Morris, 1968). "Project Misdemeanant," later known as Volunteers in Probation, began as a demonstration project funded by a National Institute of Mental Health grant in 1965. Judging from the quantity of programs now said to be operating under the VIP title, one would expect that the results would be extremely persuasive of the efficacy of the volunteer in the rehabilitation process. It is clear that the original intent of the research design was to demonstrate the potential of intensive probation services for misdemeanants that can be made possible through the use of volunteer manpower. It is this study which has been the reference point for Judge Leenhouts' conviction that the one-to-one relationship is the crucial ingredient in successful probation outcomes. The populations compared were 119 misdemeanants of the Royal Oak Court and 102 misdemeanants of the "Comparison

Court" who were assigned to probation during an eighteen-month period beginning in October, 1965. Looking only at recidivism for a period of 4.75 years, the percentage of offenders committing further offenses was 14.9 for Royal Oak probationers. In the "Comparison Court," the rate was 49.8 per cent. At first glance, the utilization of volunteers appears amazingly effective. Careful examination reveals, however, certain methodological shortcomings that throw the results into question.

First, the actual comparison was not between probationers who were assigned volunteers and those who were not within one court's probation program, but between two courts. Thus, the "test" was of intensive probation services implemented by volunteers as opposed to minimal probation services restricted by monetary considerations. The Royal Oak court has six full-time probation department "administrators," retirees, whose salaries are limited by Social Security (Koschtial, 1969: 16). The program utilized five hundred volunteers, one hundred of whom were "professionals" who were trained in counseling or related fields. The value of these volunteer services is estimated at \$200,000. (The annual budget allowed only \$17,000. for all probation services.) The Comparison Court is described as offering "traditional probation services" (Koschtial, 1969: 16), but, in fact, the services of the Comparison Court consisted of only one full-time probation officer with a caseload in 1965 of 223 probationers with whom contact was maintained by mail or telephone in over 90 per cent of the cases at an annual cost of \$15,000. (Koschtial, 1969: 3). Thus, the use of

the word "traditional" is misleading to the general reader who will, perhaps, be unaware that it should have the qualifying phrase "in misdemeanor courts." These lower courts typically provide scant probation services, if any, and these programs cannot be considered equivalent to the layman's notion of "traditional probation services."

Second, the variable of judicial disposition intervenes to further complicate the problem of comparability. It is noted by Koschtial that both courts had a "relatively high" number of cases involving alcohol-associated offenses. In actuality, Royal Oak had 39.34 per cent; the Comparison Court had 64.72 per cent. No information is given as to the selection process that was employed in placing the two groups of offenders on probation. The factors affecting judicial disposition are not clear. For instance, in the Comparison Court, five defendants had over twenty convictions each. "Apparently, they were all alcoholics [Koschtial, 1969: 8a]." It must be assumed that they were placed on probation due to factors other than the expectation that these men were amenable to community-based treatment; perhaps there was simply no alternative treatment available.

Third, to control for maturation, a group of eighty-seven eleventh-grade high school students were administered the same battery of tests as the offender groups. The adult misdemeanants ranged in age from seventeen to twenty-five. Eleventh graders, therefore, seem to be a dubious choice for the stated purpose of "controlling

for normal changes with age, independent of the effects of the two probation programs [Koschtial, 1969: 19]." In terms of intelligence, background, education, and prior offense records, the two offender groups are comparable.

Further, of the five hundred volunteers, only forty were actually working as one-to-one counselors, and all of the probationers to whom they were assigned were "treated" with at least two more of these treatment techniques available in the Royal Oak court: regular probation; term of adjournment; work detail; chief counselor (part-time, partially paid professionals trained in psychiatric social work, psychology or educational guidance counseling); associate staff counselor (unpaid professional counselors or social workers); administrators; volunteer sponsor; group therapy; psychiatric evaluation; private psychiatric treatment; Alcoholics Anonymous (volunteer medical doctors may also prescribe antebuse); psychiatric hospital; Division of Vocational Rehabilitation; employment aid; fine; jail; driver's school; suspended license; restitution; additional time on work detail; family service; church referral; and county probation (not clarified) (Koschtial, 1969: 32). Of these, two are deserving of detailed consideration. The "term of adjournment" is an alternative to regular probation which was employed in the handling of 73.91 per cent of Royal Oak offenders.

Term of Adjournment

Term of adjournment is frequently used when dealing with the young first offender and in those cases involving marital discord. The case before the court is adjourned for a prescribed length of time during which the defendant will avail himself of the treatment procedures provided through the probation department. During

this period the offender is under the general supervision of the probation department staff. Adjournment is granted only when the defendant agrees to comply with the "specific terms" laid down by the court.

The Work Detail

This program offers worthy defendants the opportunity to petition the court for assignment to the city work program. The underlying concept is to punish the wrong-doer in such a way that he does not have a criminal record when the experience is over. The program is self-supporting in that the defendant pays a set charge for the "privilege" of earning a dismissal by working for the city in a supervised work crew. Assignments are based on four eight-hour days; usually eight or less work days are assigned. At the end of the second year of operation, these offenders have paid over \$23,000 into the city general fund and have spent some 6,000 hours performing work that would not otherwise have been done [Koschtial, 1969: 12].

"The most frequent combination of treatment techniques was: Term of Adjournment--Work Detail--Volunteer and/or Chief Counselor--Administrator. This combination by itself accounted for 64 percent of the programming for the study sample [Koschtial, 1969: 33]."

Multiple treatment interference has added another source of uncontrolled variance. What was effective in the rehabilitation of the offender? Avoidance of a permanent court record as provided by the term of adjournment? The financially and physically punitive requirements of the work detail? Or was it the counseling? Any one of these plus numerous others may have been the critical variable, but it is virtually impossible to sift out the effects of such variables when the treatment plan has been a "shotgun" approach. Having assaulted the problem of rehabilitation with so many weapons, it is difficult to determine which, if any, had the desired effect.

Behavioral measures show little effect on school attendance for either group of offenders, however, both groups improved on employment.

The comparison group reported an increase in income of 41.9 per cent, compared to Royal Oak offenders increasing their incomes by 69.9 per cent, a statistically significant gain (Koschtial, 1969: 36). While this finding appears to indicate that Royal Oak probationers have acquired a heightened awareness of the importance of stable employment, the percentage of Royal Oak offenders who gamble increased from 15.3 per cent to 31.6 per cent, as compared to the control group whose gambling percentage rose only six points (from 13.4 per cent to 19.5 per cent) (Koschtial, 1969: 23). Apparently, the increase in income was not necessarily accompanied by an increased sense of responsibility in handling that money.

Primary attention in the evaluation is focused on psychological variables as reported by the results of a battery of tests, including the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI), a social and personal history, and several attitudinal and social desirability scales. This emphasis is consistent with the "theoretical orientation" of VIP, which is keyed to the therapeutic aspects of probation with a volunteer counselor. After eighteen months, analysis of the retest data indicated a significant reduction of hostility and of anti-social attitudes in the experimental group. No significant changes were found in the control group. Further, increases in anxiety were reported among the Royal Oak group, a decrease in the Comparison Court. "Since increased anxiety indicates a greater concern for himself and his future, this is considered a sign of improvement for the probationer [Koschtial, 1969: 26]."

It is important to note that 95 per cent of all Royal Oak offenders were found to be in the "deviant" group as determined by the MMPI. Of that group, 51 per cent were treated with group psychotherapy, or private psychiatric treatment and professional counseling; 25 per cent of the "deviants" were exposed to professional services only; 26 per cent were treated by both professionals and volunteers; and 49 per cent (apparently including the nondeviants) were treated by community volunteers. In a multiple treatment approach, it must be recalled. It seems clear that any positive gains whether reported by behavioral measures, psychological evaluations, or recidivism figures must be attributed to a combination of factors. The important variables may include the presentence evaluation, and the careful screening and program planning for the individual offender, but the effects of volunteer counseling cannot be isolated.

Given the methodological handicaps of the Royal Oak study, there is a reluctance on the part of this writer to agree that intensive probation services for misdemeanants has been proven effective when made possible through the use of volunteers. Moreover, these volunteers included thirty psychiatrists and one hundred "professionals." Can this be replicated by the average court? Or only under the special circumstances of a demonstration project?

In his concluding remarks, Koschtial states:

The significantly low recidivism rate among the Royal Oak sample was associated with the frequency of probationer-volunteer contacts and the variety of treatment techniques employed in

probation planning. It appears that the frequent contacts with volunteers required by the very active community based program served to produce interpersonal confrontations and identity crises in the young offenders leading to more conflict and anxiety and less social acting-out. This hypothesis is currently being investigated by an attempt to relate probation success to the more effective aspects of the total program. Preliminary analysis of the data suggests that successful probation may be related to number of different treatment types and frequency of contact, rather than the type of counseling or particular volunteer sponsor [Koschtial, 1969: 39].

This may be interpreted as Koschtial's effort to counteract the enthusiasm of Judge Leenhouts' assessment of the quasi-spiritual qualities of the volunteer-offender relationship or as an effort to lift the volunteer role above the level of highly subjective considerations. While it is the role of the volunteer counselor that is being touted by Judge Leenhouts and others as possessing almost mystical powers for rehabilitation, this demonstration project examines not the effectiveness of the lay counselor, but of intensive probation services, which, incidentally, are supplied in this case by volunteers serving in many capacities. Thus, the results would be readily generalizable to other court programs only insofar as those courts have a similarly comprehensive treatment plan in which volunteers could be utilized.

The Denver Misdemeanant Project

A similar study conducted by the County Court and sponsored by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration was completed in Denver to demonstrate the effectiveness of intensive probation services for misdemeanants relying on volunteer assistance in a metropolitan area.

The Denver County Court added for this project a Court Diagnostic Clinic "capable of completing a large number of psycho-evaluations within one day," a short intensive training program for volunteers conducted by the School of Social Work of the University of Denver, a research program, and enlisted the cooperation of the Metropolitan Council for Community Service (health and welfare agencies). The cost was estimated at \$55.00 per case as compared to a state-wide average in conventional probation of \$250.00 per case (Burnett, 1968: 5).

The research design differs from that of Royal Oak in that the control group consists of offenders who have passed through the same court, but were either given jail sentences or fined and released. The comparison is made, then, between probationers who were taking part in the demonstration project and offenders who were not sentenced to probation in that court. All persons meeting certain guidelines who were brought before any judge in the Denver County Court system during the first two months of the project were placed in the control group; offenders in the next two months were placed on probation in the experimental group. Thus, the variable of judicial disposition is controlled. The guidelines determining those to be included in the research specify an upper age limit of forty, residency requirements, a prior arrest record, and an evaluation by the Diagnostic Clinic. The aim was to include the most serious offenders. An analysis of extensive demographic data for the experimental and control groups provides confirmation of the comparability of the groups (Burnett,

1968: 10).

The overall impression of this study is that it is designed to "sell the product." Data are graphically presented, photographs show volunteers being sworn in and addressed by Ramsey Clark, and most eye-catching is the photo-presentation, "A Day in Court for a Misdemeanant," that is complete with slang captions. The serious intent almost escapes notice. This "Day in Court" is the primary screening process and was one of the determinants upon which inclusion in the research experiment was based. A detailed court history is obtained. Then, at the Diagnostic Clinic, the California Psychological Inventory (CPI) is administered along with a battery of sociometric tests. If a marked degree of pathology is revealed, a referral to the psychiatrist for evaluation follows. A case history is compiled and the judge is informed of the recommended disposition. This one-day evaluation is made possible by

the caliber of professional persons employed in the Probation Department. Each non-clerical staff member except the psychiatrist, who is a medical doctor, has a graduate degree in one of the behavioral sciences and several years experience in either social work or the field of corrections [Burnett, 1968: 58].

The effectiveness of the probation treatment plan was evaluated by test-retest using the CPI and Sociometric Battery, arrest records, and an extensive open-end interview for both groups. An "index of adjustment" evaluated personal growth, maturity and social adjustment at the beginning, middle, and end of the probation period. A detailed analysis of arrest data concludes that there is a significant difference between the mean arrest rates for the two groups.

The Experimental group rate dropped 1.66, while the control group dropped only .27, a decrease in the Experimental Group of six times that of the Control Group as measured by mean scores. . . . [T]he cause of the reduction is best termed a total treatment effort [Burnett, 1968: 74].

Instruments for self-reporting of deviance and self-evaluation showed both a decrease in deviant activity for the experimental group and a better self-evaluation. The CPI revealed no statistically significant differences between test and retest.

Granting the comparability of the groups, the Denver study would appear to give more meaningful results than that of Royal Oak. However, it is extremely important to recall that the control group in the Denver study did not consist of misdemeanants who were on probation. In contrast to Royal Oak, however, all of the offenders in the experimental group were assigned to a volunteer counselor. This means simply that the Denver researchers have assessed the efficacy of intensive probation services made possible through volunteer manpower with the addition of the one-day diagnostic work-up as compared to no probation treatment, however minimal. An important difference is that the research design of Royal Oak causes the experimental variable of "volunteer counselor" to be confounded with history, maturation, multiple treatment effects, and differences between the experimental and control groups in judicial disposition. The Denver study controls for some of these variables more efficiently, but succeeds in confounding the effects of probation itself with whatever effects the volunteer might have had. Still, Judge Burnett concludes the Denver research report with noticeable satisfaction:

That several hundreds of extremely troubled young adults, whose psycho-social disorders have brought them into repeated encounters with the law, have been placed in a positive relationship with dedicated citizens from the main stream of our society there can be no doubt. Similarly, that a statistically significant short-term improvement has been brought about can hardly be questioned. But this human being whom we refer to, as a "case" or a "defendant," holds the answer as to whether his life has been permanently influenced for the better. Both faith and logic lead us to speculate that it has [Burnett, 1968: 89].

If a case is to be made for the importance of the role of the volunteer counselor based on these research findings, it seems that "faith" holds the stronger cards.

One additional segment of the Denver study deserves special mention as it directs attention to the question of matching volunteer to offender, an aspect of the volunteer movement which has come to be strongly emphasized. A randomly-selected sample of volunteer counselors was studied at the end of the first year of the project for the purpose of identifying demographic characteristics of counselors which correlated with probationer success "as contrasted with volunteers who did not possess one, or more, of these characteristics and whose probationers failed [Burnett, 1968: 26]." Among the correlations that were established were:

1. the lower the social class of the counselor, the greater the probability of his probationer's success;
2. younger counselors were more likely to have successful probationers; and
3. volunteers having large families or who are involved with large numbers of voluntary associations are less likely to be

successful counselors (Burnett, 1968: 26-27).

The Boulder County Juvenile
Delinquency Project

In 1967, the Boulder County Juvenile Delinquency Project reported its findings in a descriptive study (Pinto, 1967) which is clearly exploratory. The Royal Oak and Denver projects were aimed at the misdemeanor in suburban and metropolitan settings, respectively; the Boulder, Colorado, program was concerned with juveniles. Even though the study is not experimental in design, it deserves mention here as it has been described as "one of the most extensive and innovative court volunteer programs [Kobetz and Bosarge, 1973: 406]." Especially pertinent is the discovery that the volunteer program had no significant impact on petitions in delinquency, or on the numbers of those adjudicated delinquent, and, while the decision to incarcerate as an initial disposition was not affected, such decisions were greatly reduced for subsequent offenses during probation. Temporary custody, probation restrictions and extensions were used much more often with volunteer-assigned probationers. This means, then, that decision-making with regard to disposition was positively influenced by the volunteer program. Perhaps volunteer involvement has been interpreted as so likely to achieve success that the probationer who commits a violation while on probation is readily given a second chance. Indeed, Judge Burnett has often asserted that one instance of violation provides a testing situation that is ultimately beneficial. The probationer tests the volunteer, perceives him as

supportive; even when the juvenile has "failed," the relationship is strengthened and more likely to succeed (Burnett, 1968: 73).

Summary of Project Reports

These three pioneering projects established the viability of the use of volunteers in a total treatment plan which provided for differential treatment of the offender based on presentence evaluations, including diagnostic service, and utilizing a variety of treatment modes. They did not, however, demonstrate that the volunteer is a uniquely rehabilitative counseling agent.

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration recommended, in 1967, that "caseloads for different types of offenders should vary in type and intensity of treatment. Classification and assignment of offenders should be made according to their needs and problems [The President's Commission, 1967b: 170]," and that there is

great promise in employing sub-professionals and volunteers in community corrections. . . . In fact, organizing teams of workers within which the tasks of investigating, monitoring, helping, and guiding offenders in a logical manner would permit more specialized and individualized attention. The use of sub-professionals and volunteers could significantly reduce the need for fully trained officers [The President's Commission, 1967b: 168].

Those statements and the evidence submitted by the researchers of Denver, Royal Oak, and Boulder lead to the preliminary conclusion that the use of volunteers is a workable solution to the problem of inadequate manpower in the context of a comprehensive treatment plan which

provides for the differential treatment of offenders. Subsequent research generated by these three projects and the evaluations of court volunteer programs provide no evidence to contradict that preliminary conclusion. To the contrary, research intended to support the uniqueness of volunteer capabilities reveals instead the importance of the stipulations regarding the use of volunteer counselors.

Court-Conducted Evaluations

An evaluation by a court of the volunteer program attached to its probation services may be undertaken for a variety of reasons, not all of which are directly concerned with the furtherance of knowledge in the field of rehabilitation theory. The motivation may be to secure state funding of the volunteer program when federal assistance has been depleted, or to assure those involved that their efforts have not been in vain. For another court, the motivation may be a more scientific one, and this will be reflected in the choice of a relatively sophisticated research design. Clearly, this depends on the capabilities of staff members as well as the intent of the court. The reports presented here offer a comparison of two types of evaluations that may result.

Volunteers-in-Probation: Final Report

The evaluation of this court program for 1971 to 1972 and its follow-up for 1972 to 1973 were obtained from the Lackawanna County Court, Scranton, Pennsylvania. Judge Richard Conaboy's opening remarks bear repeating here as they provide additional insight into the VIP

orientation:

[The VIP program] is the most promising because it involves citizens in the community trying to help and guide their neighbors--not in an "official" capacity but in the true spirit of "loving your neighbor." . . . The figures are impressive--and have become more impressive since the end of the report period.

But, in viewing the report, we must bear in mind that figures do not tell anywhere near the real story in this kind of project. What is much more important is that so many fine people have voluntarily worked so hard with their fellow human beings--and changed their attitudes and habits and now feel they can live and participate in the community as peaceable and useful citizens. The new respect these people have for themselves and for others--the many family situations which have been improved--and the gratification of the volunteers in learning they have accomplished these things do not show in figures. But this is the real story of VIP and has to be considered as the most important aspect of the report [VIP: Final Report, 1971-72: 1].

These optimistic conclusions are drawn from the analysis of the probation outcomes of seventeen probationers, twelve of whom are said to have been successful as indicated by improvements in attitudes as reportedly perceived in interviews by the VIP staff, and by improved behavior in school, employment, family and court relations.

In three cases, while the individuals have not been arrested for any illegal activities, there is no demonstrable evidence of an improved or changed life style. This does not mean there was no improvement, nor that the individuals did not profit from their participation in the VIP program; merely that we cannot document such improvement [VIP: Final Report, 1971-72: 10].

Recidivism figures, however, show remarkable success; only 4.8 per cent committed new offenses during the probation period, presumably due to the effectiveness of the volunteer program. Case histories conclude the reports for both years "to illustrate the uniqueness of the volunteer role [VIP: Final Report, 1971-72: 13]." Judging from their popularity, such reports are quite satisfying to those involved.

Peters reports twenty-six "general evaluation" reports on file at NICOV (although some of these are confidential needs assessments conducted by NICOV) (Peters, 1973), and undoubtedly, many unreported studies exist since they are prepared for limited distribution to funding agencies, the regional correctional system, or by special request. (These two VIP studies, for example, were not included in Peters' tally.)

The Lincoln-Lancaster Program Evaluation

The volunteer program of the Lincoln-Lancaster Municipal Court, Lincoln, Nebraska, was evaluated by Dr. Richard Moore (1972), Court Psychologist, to assess the effectiveness of that program with special attention to its success with youthful high-risk misdemeanor offenders. Employing a research design which allowed for a comparison of probation outcomes between groups identified by the likelihood of recidivism, Moore's study reports a high degree of volunteer effectiveness. The research project included 104 youthful male misdemeanants who were divided into three groups. High-risk offenders were identified on the basis of one or more of the following characteristics:

- (1) significant mental and/or emotional problems;
- (2) anti-social attitudes;
- (3) relatively unstable family or living situation;
- (4) situational pressure or stress;
- (5) relatively limited personal resources;
- (6) numerous prior criminal offenses [Moore, 1972: 5].

These probationers were randomly assigned to either "Routine Probation Programming" or to the Volunteer Counselor Program. A random sample of low-risk offenders was assigned to regular probation. This group was

characterized as having:

- (1) No significant personal and/or emotional problems;
 - (2) no particular anti-social attitudes or anger at authority figures;
 - (3) relatively stable family or living situation;
 - (4) absence of significant situational stress or evidence of a personal crisis;
 - (5) personal resources are at least adequate for functioning within the community;
 - (6) few prior criminal offenses;
 - (7) some evidence of adult responsibility-taking
- [Moore, 1972: 5-6].

The determinations regarding placement were made on the basis of information obtained from several sources, including interviews conducted by the probation officer with the defendant and his family, psychological testing conducted by the court psychologist, using the CPI, "community contacts" (information gathered from employers and school officials by the probation officer and from court records and police department files) (Moore, 1972: 5).

As Dr. Moore points out, this research project avoids many of the methodological pitfalls which have hampered previous studies. Subjects were carefully screened before placement and the distinction made between high-risk and low-risk offenders marks the first attention given to subject variables. All subjects were randomly assigned, and all were placed on probation by virtue of the same processes of decision-making. This study assesses the effects of no volunteer as compared to volunteer assignment for the high-risk population for the one-year period studied and, by including a sample of low-risk offenders assigned to regular probation, allows for the "self-correcting" nature of these offenders to be demonstrated. Because this project was directed toward the evaluation of the effectiveness of the volunteer

with the high-risk offender, the pairs were carefully matched, to provide optimum conditions for the success of the probation experience (Moore, 1972: 3-4).

The low-risk offender assigned to regular probation is required to complete court-conducted educational classes in driving safety or alcohol-drug abuse supervised by the staff counselor who also assigns written essays, often on topics related to the recent offense. Monthly reports are submitted by the probationer and he is required to report as directed by his counselor. Contact is kept to a minimum. The high-risk offender placed on probation is assigned a staff counselor (probation officer) and also follows the routine probation programming. Additionally, they are assigned for counseling by the staff counselor or referred to the court psychologist if deemed necessary (Moore: 1972: 6-7).

The matching of the volunteer to the high-risk offender follows rigorous screening of the volunteer through interviews and psychological testing, again with the CPI. The actual matching takes place in a group meeting by members of the probation staff, not by the volunteer coordinator as is usually the case. The types of relationships which have been identified are: model for identification, friend-companion, supervisory, and primary counseling. The success of the volunteer--high-risk offender matches was determined on the basis of a

broad range of causal factors which are conceptually and/or empirically linked to criminal behavior. Three classes of evaluative criteria were selected: (1) behavior; (2) personality;

and (3) social competence [Moore, 1972: 10].

Measures of behavior were frequency of offense, recidivism, seriousness of offenses, modification of patterns of offenses; those for personality were responsibility, socialization, self-control, achievement via conformance, and intellectual efficiency as measured by the CPI. Social competence, defined as the capacity to cope effectively with societal expectations, was measured by intellectual, social and moral development as shown by scores on the Phillips Social Competence Scale (modified for that research). Pre-probation data verify the comparability of the three groups as to age, and of the high-risk groups on the criteria of prior offenses, and scores on the CPI. No pre-probation social competence data were collected (Moore, 1972: 10-14). The differences in each measure which determined placement in the high-risk and low-risk groups are clearly evident.

There is no comparison group by which to gauge the effects of maturation or testing. However, it was not the intention of this research study to establish the effectiveness of volunteers as probation officers. Interest is primarily directed toward determining how to best utilize volunteers in that role, that is, how to put them where they are needed. Results confirm the general predictions that

- (1) Low-risk offenders would commit fewer additional offenses;
- (2) High-risk offenders assigned to Routine Probation Programming would commit additional and more serious offenses;
- (3) The High-risk offenders assigned to the Volunteer Probation Counselor program would commit fewer additional and more serious criminal offenses than the High-risk offenders assigned to the Routine Probation Programming [Moore, 1972: 4].

High-risk offenders assigned to volunteers committed 45.45 per cent

fewer offenses than the high-risk group placed on regular probation. Low-risk offenders committed significantly fewer criminal offenses than either of the high-risk groups (82.4 per cent fewer than the high-risk--volunteer assigned, and 90.44 per cent fewer than the high-risk subjects on regular probation). The high-risk group working with volunteers had a significantly lower recidivism rate than did the high-risk offenders on regular probation. The low-risk rate of recidivism was significantly lower than that of either high-risk group (Moore, 1972: 14-15).

A total of five categories was set up classifying the seriousness of offenses committed while on probation: theft-related, antisocial, alcohol-drug, major traffic and minor traffic. Again, the high-risk offenders assigned to the volunteer program showed gains in that significantly fewer theft-related and antisocial offenses were committed by that group than by the high-risk group on routine probation. As might be expected, low-risk offenders committed fewer additional serious offenses than either high-risk group. A comparison of the pattern of criminal offenses committed during the year preceding this probationary year revealed "remarkable differences in the performances of the High-risk groups . . . [Moore, 1972: 17]." The group of high-risk offenders placed on regular probation continued to commit additional offenses and, more importantly, committed more serious offenses than during the year prior to this probation period. A 56 per cent increase in antisocial offenses and a 91 per cent increase in theft-related offenses occurred, confirming both the effectiveness of

the volunteer, and the validity of the screening process which identified this group as "high-risk." The volunteer-counseled group of high-risk offenders showed significant reductions in all categories of offense except minor traffic offenses. Data for the low-risk group show that fewer additional offenses were committed. Percentages are given for three categories of probationers: those who committed more offenses while on probation than the preceding year, those who committed the same number of offenses, and those who committed fewer offenses. The effectiveness of the volunteer counselor is confirmed in this comparison (Moore, 1972: 17-18). Personality variables, as indicated by results of the CPI, reveal significant differences on three scales: responsibility, socialization, and achievement via conformance. Generally, the high-risk offenders who were volunteer-assigned were more conforming than those high-risk offenders on regular probation. Scores for the low-risk group also indicated significant improvement. Analysis of the social competence data yielded statistically significant differences between the volunteer-counseled and nonvolunteer-assigned high-risk groups. Again, the low-risk group scores were higher than those of either high-risk group. (This is a comparison between groups, and not a pretest-posttest measure of changes within the groups of offenders during the probation period.) It is concluded that those in the volunteer-assigned group were able to "cope effectively with societal expectations and less likely to engage in deviant behavior than were the High-Risk-Routine Probation subjects [Moore, 1972: 19-20]." The evaluation includes an

exploration of the nature of the relationship between offender and volunteer to identify significant variables, a model of the successful volunteer probation counselor, and identification of the personality variables associated with successful counselors.

The most relevant aspects of the report here are the success of the volunteer with the high-risk offender and the "self-correcting" capabilities of the low-risk offender when given minimal supervision in the Routine Probation Programming plan. Moore provides a cautionary note in that the results of this study may not be appropriately extrapolated to all other court situations. The community in which this program operates is

essentially a middle and upper class city with an abundance of University-affiliated people and governmental employees, but no significant labor class. Social problems are less visible in the community and not a great concern to many citizens. There are relatively few minority group members and there was no conspicuous drug problem. The crime rate is relatively low. There are few delinquent gangs. Two general implications are: (1) there are fewer temptations for delinquency-prone youths to
(2) there are ample community resources to assist youthful misdemeanor offenders who need help [Moore, 1972: 23].

In the Lincoln-Lancaster evaluation, the methodological techniques are not open to criticism, and yet the differences between offenders who were volunteer-counseled and those who were not are as striking as those results of less rigorously conducted studies. It is clear, however, that these differences are not due to the uniquely rehabilitative features of a volunteer-offender relationship per se, but are dependent on the identification of offender types with the assignment of a volunteer being based on the assessment of individual

needs. It is the discrimination between high-risk and low-risk offenders that allows this program to report such successes and to utilize its volunteers for maximum benefit.

Evaluations by Outside Investigators

Lacking the professional expertise within the probation services to conduct an assessment of the degree of efficiency and effectiveness of the volunteer program, or wishing to avoid prejudicial conclusions, a court may request an evaluation to be undertaken by a professional research group. Again, the motivation may differ from court to court. The evaluation of the Friends in Action program is not a court-related study, but was requested in the interests of program improvement and to determine the extent to which the goals of the program were being met, as was the study conducted by The Center for the Study of Voluntarism.

An Evaluation of Volunteer Use in Juvenile Probation

In an evaluation of the Maryland program for volunteer use in juvenile probation, Dewey (1972) points to the difficulties which have plagued previous investigators.

The evaluation field in the social sciences seems to be now limited to but two unsatisfactory methodologies; either an unworkable "control group" quantitative method is used, or at the other extreme, an entirely subjective "anecdotal" method is employed [Dewey, 1972: 3].

Therefore, the study conducted by the Center for the Study of Voluntarism, School of Social Work and Community Planning of the

University of Maryland, takes a phenomenological approach. Asserting that the only experience of reality is reality,

the only reliable data possible from a program involving human beings interacting with one another is the individual experience of that interaction. . . . Any evaluation of human experience which purports to be an objective study has either falsified its data or has misinterpreted the scientific method [Dewey, 1972: 4].

Having thus "justified" their reliance on the interview technique of data-gathering, the program is evaluated by assessment of the degree to which the "real" approximates the "ideal" (as defined in this study) with respect to the program and to the volunteer (Dewey, 1972: 3). A comparison is made between the two as experienced by the client. While the presentation is more sophisticated than the typical court evaluation, the subjective approach results in conclusions that seem to this researcher somewhat ambiguous and of dubious utility in implementing program strategy. The specific recommendations made are most relevant to that ongoing program and would be indicative of directions for program planning only to a court in similar circumstances, using similar types of volunteers.

Evaluation of the Friends in Action Program

A research evaluation conducted by The Battelle Memorial Institute (Milstead and Locke, 1973) demonstrated that such methodological reservations as Dewey's do not preclude the possibility of quantitative/qualitative analysis. The "Evaluation of the Friends in Action Program, Franklin County, Ohio," (Milstead and Locke, 1973) differs

from the previous studies in that Friends in Action (FIA) is a volunteer group similar to Big Brothers or PARTNERS which do not originate from within the court itself. Rather, it is a community resource which accepts referrals from the court and other social agencies, the Board of Education, and from individuals. Only the findings immediately relevant to this paper will be mentioned, but the full study contains a rich source of implications for the treatment of predelinquents as well as offenders. The "target population" of the FIA program consists of female juveniles, probationers and "nonprobationers," excluding those charged with a serious offense. A sample of 108 referrals was randomly assigned to one of four groups: probationers matched with a volunteer; probationers not assigned a volunteer; nonprobationers matched with a volunteer; and nonprobationers not assigned a volunteer. Thus, it is possible to assess the effects of the volunteer on the juvenile, holding constant the effects of probation as well as the effects of referral on a predelinquent group. The objectives of the research program were:

- (1) To assess the effectiveness of the Friends in Action Program in helping the target population to correct deviant behavioral patterns.
- (2) To compare the effectiveness of Friends in Action volunteers in working with habitual and first- or second-time offenders.
- (3) To determine whether the target population will "self-correct" without the intervention of Friends in Action volunteers [Milstead and Locke, 1973: 7].

These objectives were accomplished by measurement of changes in recidivism, school behavior, grade improvement, and attitudinal changes toward the self and others, both as indicated in initial testing and

measurements obtained after six and twelve months.

Overall, the FIA has had a positive effect on the target population. A profile of that population describes a juvenile approximately 14.5 years of age, female, Caucasian, and who was referred for home truancy (running away) by law enforcement officers. The case was handled nonjudicially in Juvenile Court after an initial stay in the Franklin County Detention Center pending disposition. They were absent from school approximately 9.4 days per year and received grades of D or F. Their self-concepts were low. They were distrustful and they scored above the standardized mean for the Alienation Scale of the Jesness Inventory. Most were from broken homes, with a monthly income of \$420.00. The parents had high school educations or less, the girls had generally positive attitudes toward school, and felt that graduation is of some importance. Nonprobationers generally had higher grade averages than probationers, and, overall, girls who were later assigned volunteers had lower grades than those without. Methods of handling the original offense were evenly distributed over three forms: informal complaints, judicial, and nonjudicial. Of all complaints, 50 per cent were for home truancy. The next most frequent offense was incorrigibility, followed by curfew violation. These status offenses are termed "unruly behavior" as distinguished from "delinquent behavior" which was defined as an offense that would be a crime if committed by an adult. No previous court contact was recorded for 56.8 per cent of the total population; 69 per cent of the probationers were recidivists, as were 33 per cent of the nonprobationers

(Milstead and Locke, 1973: 1-24).

The majority of the girls in the final sample of ninety-nine reported positive evaluations of the success of the relationship. However, concrete measures of evaluation are also used, and the primary criterion is recidivism. There was little difference in absolute recidivism. Of all girls working with a volunteer, 52 per cent had no further contact with the court; 58 per cent of non-volunteer assignments resulted in at least one subsequent offense. There is little difference when the group of probationers alone is considered, but volunteers do appear to be more effective with non-probationers. Their rate of referral was 39 per cent as compared to 54.5 per cent among nonprobationers without a volunteer. There was a slight difference (9.5 per cent) between girls with volunteers and girls without, in terms of number of court contacts. Probationers with volunteers had 50 per cent fewer court contacts than those without in terms of group mean numbers of contacts; however, nonprobationers with volunteers had 4 per cent more court contacts than nonprobationers without volunteers (Milstead and Locke, 1973: 53-56).

All girls with volunteers tended to have longer lengths of time between court contacts, and these girls also tended to be handled nonjudicially more often than the girls without volunteers for subsequent offenses even up to as many as five further court contacts. The most common offense was home truancy (62 per cent of all complaints). It appears here, as in the Boulder study, that volunteer-assignment has an important impact on the handling of further offenses.

Of all nonjudicial cases, 60 per cent involved girls with volunteers; 71 per cent of all judicial cases regarded girls without volunteers. Girls with volunteers were admonished and released or referred more often and placed on probation less often. This difference in severity of disposition for girls with volunteers was significant at above the .05 level. No probationers with volunteers were committed to the Ohio Youth Commission; two without volunteers were. The same preferential treatment held true for nonprobationers regarding disposition (Milstead and Locke, 1973: 56-77).

School data were available for less than half of the total sample, but the data that were available show improvement for the volunteer-assigned group, perhaps because of probationer improvements in absenteeism. Tardiness data for one-third of the population show that the rate of tardiness for volunteer groups decreased by 55 per cent while increasing for girls without volunteers by 18 per cent. Probationers without volunteers showed no change, but those with volunteers reduced tardiness by 87.5 per cent. Nonprobationers with volunteers showed a 33.3 per cent reduction in tardiness, but the nonprobationers without volunteers increased tardiness by 35 per cent. Probationers with volunteers improved their accumulative point-hour ratios while nonprobationers with volunteers did not; but they did drop out less frequently than their counterparts with no volunteers. It is pointed out that a volunteer may stimulate the motivation of a girl to improve school grades (Milstead and Locke, 1973: 77-84), but, as Ms. Milstead commented in a telephone conversation with this writer,

"By that age, poor learning skills are . . . learned!" Thus, the expectation of grade improvement over a short time span may be unrealistic.

As reflected by the Jesness Inventory Maladjustment and Alienation Scales, all girls decreased in social maladjustment. Those with volunteers tended to be less socially maladjusted during the study period, but the differences were not striking. The overall mean differences in alienation for girls with and without volunteers were not significant, although there were fluctuations between the six-month periods. A total of eight semantic differential scales was used to measure self-concept changes and "the composite mean differences for probationers with volunteers compared to the initial mean represent an improvement of more than double the mean difference for probationers with no volunteers [Milstead and Locke, 1973: 90]." Some improvement is also indicated for nonprobationers with volunteers. Those without volunteers showed a decrease. Looking at "trust in others," all groups improved by 16 per cent. Trustful responses were selected by all probationers with volunteers and by 70 per cent of those without. While the nonprobationers with volunteers selected trustful responses more often than those without, the fluctuations of that volunteer group as shown in this test and others are markedly noticeable throughout the study period (Milstead and Locke, 1973: 85-92).

Compared to the demonstration projects and the studies previously discussed, the most apparent difference is in the degree of

effectiveness attributed to the volunteer. Here, in a carefully controlled experiment, the startling decreases in recidivism rates and radical improvements in attitudes (with the exception of self-concept) do not appear. The differential skills of volunteers in Royal Oak and Columbus are surely not a sufficient explanatory variable. Rather, there is reason to call into question the results of the earlier studies on methodological grounds: poor research design, poor handling of data, conclusions phrased so as to convey impressions not substantiated by the data, and so on. Granted, there is no comparison made here to a group of juvenile females who have not been labeled as needing help. However, the population is a relatively homogeneous one. There is considerable doubt that a group of adolescent females can be assembled about whom one may say with certainty that no members of the group need help.

Of course, the results of this program cannot be generalized to all volunteer programs. FIA has certain important advantages. Limiting its activities to a selected target population, it receives only those referrals appropriate for the type of volunteer it includes--adult women. Volunteer recruitment involves a "self-screening" process, in that a volunteer knows beforehand the general type of offender to whom she will be assigned, and can to some extent assess her capabilities prior to contacting FIA. Further, this type of volunteer is not a volunteer probation officer. In fact, her role approximates that described by Scheier in his "one-to-one" model of the volunteer as an ombudsman or "environmental facilitator." Further, it is likely that

FIA volunteer-assignment is a determinant of the severity of court disposition of subsequent offenses. It can be said that the volunteers succeed in achieving behavioral changes in the adolescent females which are functional in heading off further confrontations with authorities. Increased conformity to societal restraints, such as simply getting to school on time, is a positive gain with clear implications for future relationships, regardless of attitudinal changes. Indeed, the message transmitted might well be, "You don't have to like it, you just have to cope." The self-concept may be enhanced by the rewards ensuing from successful coping, but of course, this does not guarantee the absence of future criminality. Most importantly, a study of this quality provides a view of the role of the volunteer whereby conclusions may be drawn based on logic, rather than faith.

Related Experimental Research

In their doctoral dissertations, Howell (1972) and Matson (1973) used the field settings of courts with volunteer programs for the testing of certain propositions in sociological theory, and, in that research also assessed the effectiveness of volunteer probation officers. NICOV takes the position that the effectiveness of the volunteer has been sufficiently verified, and that the next step is to refine aspects of the relationship by the careful matching of volunteer to offender, based on personality variables, and demographic data (Scheier, et al., 1973).

A Test of Interaction Variables

Howell's (1972) dissertation, "A Comparison of Probation Officers and Volunteers," involved a population of eighty juvenile males; forty probationers counseled by volunteers and forty probationers counseled by probationer officers were precision-matched on the basis of age, sex, socioeconomic status, offense history, ethnicity, and length of time in the study. Of Homans' hypotheses regarding interaction, two are tested as is the general research question comparing the effectiveness of volunteers and probation officers as counselors. Contrary to Homans' hypothesis, increase in the frequency of interaction did not lead to increased liking, and Homans' provision that authoritarianism should not intervene was not upheld. The stronger positive (although not significant) correlations between liking and frequency of interaction were observed when authoritarianism was high, rather than low. There were ten measures of change in attitudes and behavior made: anomy, family adjustment as perceived by probationers and counselors, social adjustment with peers and adult authority as perceived by probationers and counselors, academic adjustment, grade point average, police contacts and delinquent acts. Homans hypothesized that "if the degree of liking and interaction between two persons increases, the more alike their activities (operationalized as attitudes and behavior) tend to become and vice versa [Howell, 1972: 1857-A]." This relationship is not expected to hold if authoritarianism intervenes. Stronger correlations were found

between gains in liking and gains in the direction of improvement of probationer attitudes than between interaction and attitudes and behavior, and, further, the dependent variables appeared when authoritarianism was high. Early in the relationships, the volunteer-assigned probationers perceived their counselors as liking them more, and they liked their counselors significantly more, but these differences tended to disappear as the relationship extended through time. No significant differences were observed between the two groups on any of the dependent variables at either the initial or final time of measurement.

Examination of residualized gain scores between T_1 and T_N revealed that the volunteer-counselled group made slightly higher gains or improvements between the two intervals. However, these differences were not of sufficient magnitude to eliminate the possibility of their having been produced by chance alone [Howell, 1972: 1857-A].

It would appear, then, that for the juvenile male offender, the authoritarian aspects of the role of the probation officer do not prevent the establishing of a counseling relationship. Instead, "authoritarianism," as Howell uses the term, may be a necessary component in determining the quality of the relationship. The dependent variables show little relationship to the experimental variable, thereby making two interpretations possible. If the volunteers are to be considered as essentially a source of free manpower, they were effective. If the volunteer is expected to be uniquely efficacious in the rehabilitation process, he failed.

The addition of a control group of nonprobationers would have

been an added source of information as to the effects of maturation and testing. Despite the careful matching of the two groups, these variables were left uncontrolled. Nonetheless, it is a study of sufficient substance to require that the findings of demonstration projects be reassessed.

A Test of Personal and Social Control Variables

Matson (1973) employed a "quasi-experimental" design in testing several control theory propositions and comparing volunteer and staff-assigned probationers on changes in criminality. The experimental group consisted of fifty-two staff-assigned probationers and forty-eight volunteer-assigned probationers. The control group was comprised of offenders handled by jail and/or fines. The variables of age, ethnicity, religion, education, socioeconomic status and previous criminality were controlled. All were adult, male misdemeanants. The five independent variables, drawn from the social control and rehabilitation literature, are composed of three social controls: court action, family integration, and employability; and two personal controls: the Socialization Scale of the California Psychological Inventory and a semantic differential self-evaluation scale. Support was found for the hypothesis that the greater the number of social and personal controls, the greater the decrease in criminality. However, control theory suggests the preeminence of personal controls. This means that those with stronger self-concepts and higher self-evaluations would show the greatest decrease in

criminality. The best predictors of increased conformity proved to be the three social controls, especially court action. The personal controls were significantly related to those of the control group and in the opposite direction from that hypothesized.

Court action was consistently the most discriminating variable of all, yet did not significantly interact with the others. Volunteer counselors were slightly more successful than staff counselors in reducing criminality in their probationers, but the difference was not statistically significant [Matson, 1973].

Matching Volunteers to Clients

NICOV has looked both to program management and to refinements of aspects of the volunteer role in the quest for program success. One such attempt is the specific emphasis currently being placed on the matching of volunteer to offender. Attention has been directed to offender typologies or differential treatment tactics (cf. Kinch, 1962: 323-28; Schrag, 1961: 309-57; Sutherland and Cressey, 1960: 237-50; Sykes, 1958: 84-108), and in the last decade comparable attention has been given to worker typologies (cf. Grant and Grant, 1959; Levinson and Kitchener, 1965; Palmer, 1967). Even more recently, these research findings have been extended into the relationship between volunteer and offender (cf. Beier, 1971; Dewey, 1972; Goodman, 1972; Ingram, 1970; Mehaffey, 1973). NICOV is recommending the use of the Fundamental Interpersonal Relationship Orientation-Behavior (FIRO-B), developed at Esalen Institute as a result of a matching study conducted with the cooperation of seven ongoing programs which contributed 162 successful pairs for study.

A total of seventy-four variables were considered in terms of characteristics of the volunteer, of the client, and relational indices between them. In addition to the FIRO-B, demographic data, interest/activity forms, mutual choice (regarding characteristics of person chosen to work with), two personality tests and a color preference test were used. The stipulation is made that these matching techniques be used by the coordinator of volunteers as supplements rather than replacements of intuitive matching in the setting up of the one-to-one relationship. In the NICOV study and other research efforts, those variables found to be strong discriminators in predicting the success of a volunteer-probationer relationship were: the level of client intelligence; the inspiring example of the handicapped volunteer; the volunteer having a low-income level and a stable self-concept, good self-respect, who was not dominant and was rather sensitive. "The single strongest personality and temperament-related variable was Volunteer Preference for Brighter Colors [Scheier, et al., 1973: 40]." There seems to be no relationship between success and volunteer choice of client characteristics, except possibly when matches have been made going against those choices. Matches of the same sex are more likely to be successful, as are same-race or same-ethnicity matches. Greater age differences are unsuitable, but religion appears to play no role. A high number of shared dislikes is disadvantageous, although common likes are not mandatory. Similarity of color-choice was unimportant. The only strong discriminator disclosed by the personality test was that it is helpful to match

nonsensitive to sensitive, volunteers or clients with one another. Extroversion in the volunteer is not necessary, nor is dominance. (Scheier, et al., 1973: 29-42). Coordinators are cautioned to remember that basically the relationships presented will only slightly increase the overall probability of the success of the relationship. The general guidelines based on variables mentioned above indicate the need for recruitment of young, minority males. The findings of NICOV indicate that minority volunteers are more effective with all types of clients. It is further recommended that the Color Test be used for volunteers, and the FIRO-B for both offender and volunteer (Scheier, et al., 1973: 43-47). In an interesting addendum, it is revealed that the astrological prediction of compatibility was found to be a strong discriminator as defined in that study (Scheier, et al., 1973: Appendix 27).

One-to-one matching is aimed at the entire pool of offenders without regard for the patterns which may exist among them, and is an application of Scheier's "Individuality Theory" with its notion of individual causation. In practice, this approach may prove cumbersome as its denial of recurring patterns of behavior precludes the possibility of the identifying types of relationships, or of types of worker and offenders. In matching on a one-to-one basis, not only must the offender or the volunteer be held in limbo awaiting the appropriate "mate" for his personality characteristics, but probation outcomes must always be assessed on an individual basis. The identification of types of relationships which allows the planning of differential treatments,

as suggested by the work of Moore (1972), appears the more expedient means of utilizing volunteers, and of clarifying goals and objectives.

Summary

At the outset of this discussion, it was predicted that the findings of these research studies would be spotty, revealing variations in reported successes that would result from the relative adequacy of the treatment rationales of the volunteer programs. The efforts of the researchers to substantiate claims for volunteer effectiveness demonstrate the existence of another source of variation, the quality of the research design. It appears that in Royal Oak and Denver, for example, volunteer effectiveness is, indeed, an elusive variable. The amazing changes reported in probationers assigned to a volunteer are attributable not to the magic of the volunteer-probationer relationship as Judge Leenhouts would have us believe, nor to the magic of time, as Scheier prefers to think. Rather, the "magic" revealed is that of methodology. The later, more sophisticated studies do not demolish the idea of volunteer assignment as a viable alternative rehabilitation technique, but do diminish the expected capabilities of that role to realistic proportions. Volunteers can be safely said to be effective, at least as effective as probation officers, with the degree of effectiveness directly related both to the methodology employed and to the overall treatment plan.

CHAPTER IV

THE FUTURE OF THE VOLUNTEERS IN COURTS MOVEMENT

Why should a court view the use of volunteers to be a viable solution to such problems as excessive caseloads, the inherent difficulties in counseling an involuntary client, and the reluctance of the community to allow reentry of the offender into the community as a "member in good standing?" It would appear that the materials examined in the preceding chapter provide at least a tentative answer to the initial parts of this question.

Unfortunately, support for the third point is not available because research on community response per se has not been undertaken, although continued community participation in volunteer programs would imply limited acceptance and could be interpreted as an easing of the strain between offenders and community members. This remains to be established. Still, evidence has been presented on the other two dimensions of the question. The studies reviewed previously uniformly suggest that the volunteer probation officer is capable of reducing the caseload of the professional staff and of forming a helping relationship with the offender which may succeed in bridging the gap between the community and the offender. Thus, the evidence suggests that the volunteers in courts constitute an acceptable alternative rehabilitation resource.

Limitations of the Volunteers
in Courts Movement

Before espousing the cause of the volunteer in probation, however, certain reservations must be voiced, and conditions qualifying their acceptance imposed. In particular, it must be emphasized that the studies reviewed in Chapter III were only those studies that were available. While the results that were presented provide varying degrees of support for the effectiveness of volunteer participation in the probation process, these positive findings cannot be assumed to hold for all court programs. Not only would it be improper to extrapolate from the relatively small number of studies available for review, but a high rate of program failure is reported elsewhere. NICOV, for example, estimates a failure percentage as high as 25 percent over a two-year period studied, and their report terms that figure as "probably conservative." Further, there are figures which suggest that

the growth rate within programs is not nearly as dramatic as the growth rate of new programs. We may have many programs beginning which stop at a plateau or are terminated . . . It may well be that the evangelical pressure nationally to begin programs has not been matched by technical and material assistance resources sufficient to their well-being [U.S. Department of Justice, 1972: 6-7].

Such information clearly suggests that the positive findings reported in much of the literature reviewed herein may not adequately reflect the actual volunteer situation. In a strongly condemnatory article by Ira M. Schwartz, Executive Director of the John Howard

Association, a recent NICOV newsletter supports that view.

The overwhelming majority of court programs in the United States are either faltering or in danger of doing so in the very near future. The programs are characterized by the lack of creativity, relationship problems between volunteer and professional staff, inefficiency, lack of defined goals and objectives, not involving volunteers in meaningful roles, and not using volunteers to achieve significant reform in corrections [Volunteers for Social Justice, 1974: 3].

This, in turn, implies that the dearth of evaluations of ineffective programs is not evidence that they do not exist, and it must be concluded that the studies examined in this paper were, to some extent, a "self-selected" sample.

A second condition must be placed on this evaluation of the effectiveness of volunteers in probation. The results of the empirical research cannot be readily generalized to aid in the planning of future programs because the factors affecting program success vary so widely from program to program. Further, no commonality of techniques is shared to which successful probation outcomes may be attributed. Even the cases of Royal Oak and Denver differ despite their mutual emphasis on presentence evaluation, psychological screening procedures, and the intensive probation services. Certainly, a program wishing to emulate either example would be required to have a large number of professionals serving as volunteers, as in Royal Oak, or to have generous funds at their disposal.²

²It should be noted that while the volunteers provided their services at no cost, both projects depended on federal grants. For example, the Law Enforcement and Assistance Administration awarded the City and County of Denver a "grant for \$156,604.00 to create and operate

Thus, courts are provided little direction that assists them in choosing between a wide range of alternative program designs or in determining the one most likely to be feasibly undertaken in light of such limitations as the sociocultural setting of the court, the possible number and types of volunteers available, the receptivity of the professional staff, anticipated cooperation from related agencies, and the possibility of initial funding. "There is only one primary rule to follow and that is to start small and expand as the program becomes successful [Kobetz and Bosarge, 1973: 408]."

Third, while isolated programs may be applying sound behavioral principles in the interpretation of the volunteer role, the literature directed to the court volunteer staff seldom presents explicit criteria relevant for therapy with correctional clients unless one is willing to accept the universality of psychogenic causation or the postulates of the "volunteer mystique." Programs founded on theory have developed individually, perhaps almost accidentally; but there is, as Kiessling charged, no consistent "theory of volunteerism." Thus far, there is no apparent effort to correct this condition on the part of those responsible for program implementation. Instead, attention is confined to the application of organizational and management techniques. This approach implies that program maintenance is the superordinate goal.

a two-year 'demonstration-research project' that--supplemented with local 'in kind' and cash assistance--would provide County Court offenders with probation services [Burnett, 1968: 8]." Obviously, a program of the scope of the demonstration projects will require considerably more than well-intentioned citizens.

In fact, the bulk of the literature gives the impression that it is the volunteer who is of foremost concern to the program. Obviously, there can be no volunteer programs without volunteers, but, more importantly, volunteers in probation are not needed except to serve the goal of offender rehabilitation. This absence of viable, explicit linkages between sound theory, careful empirical research, and program development stands as a continuing and serious limitation on the implementation of the kinds of sophisticated programs that are required. Significant improvements in this area could, of course, be made, perhaps through the leadership of those federal agencies who generally provide the financial support for volunteer programs. Unfortunately, there is little evidence that the relevant funding agencies are concerned by the poorly articulated linkage between theory, research, and practice. For example, only minimal attention is directed to the conceptualization of a treatment plan in the literature produced by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. Emphasis is placed instead on the mechanics of program operation. This is exemplified by the LEAA publication, Guidelines and Standards for the Use of Volunteers in Correctional Programs. This volume would appear to be the official manual for the institution and maintenance of a volunteer program, but only two pages of the 296-page volume are devoted to the application of theory to the rehabilitative process.

In short, the unstated assumption underlying much of the prescriptive literature addressed to the courts is that the majority of probation departments already have a treatment plan in which

volunteers can be effectively incorporated. This reflects the additional assumption that the attainment of the goal of offender rehabilitation will flow from strategies planned at higher levels in the correctional system. In the past, however, such planning has not been proven effective when the measures it calls for are implemented by members of the professional staff and then meaningfully evaluated. As Healy and Bronner observed in 1926, "Probation is a term that gives no clue as to what is done by way of treatment [Diana, 1970: 56]." This remains an apt description, and it would be unjust to judge the volunteer movement as solely responsible for its shortcomings in its approach to probation planning. Indeed, the inadequacy of the rehabilitation theory and evaluative research characteristic of volunteer programs is a legacy from the correctional system of which it is a part; a legacy of a probation process that can be likened to "putting new wine in old wineskins," which dates back to the days of John Augustus. Giving an account of his "labors" in the 1850s, he described rudimentary presentence evaluation and screening procedures:

Great care was observed of course, to ascertain whether the prisoners were promising subjects for probation, and to this end it was necessary to take into consideration the previous character of the person, his age and the influences by which he would in future be likely to be surrounded [Dressler, 1969: 25].

Clearly, then, Augustus could limit his "probation services" to the offenders he felt competent to assist. With the introduction of professional staff, this selectivity on the part of the probation officer disappeared, and it was assumed that all probation officers could work equally well with all offenders. This is an assumption that

has received relatively little reassessment in the past one hundred years. Several correctional programs are employing offender and worker typologies, but it has not yet become a widely-used device for assignment. Certainly, the lower courts and juvenile courts with grossly inadequate staffing cannot even consider such a plan. Their members must work with a large number of cases without the possibility of attention to typologies.

There are, of course, some indications that necessary changes may take place. In his "Individuality Theory," for example, Scheier foresees an advantage for the use of volunteers to be one-to-one matching which would bring the actual probation experience closer to its original conception. As was reported in the preceding chapter, the matching criteria are obtained from the administering of tests to both volunteer and offender in order to elicit information on their personality characteristics. The actual matching is then done partly on an intuitive assessment by the volunteer coordinator and partly on the test results. Clearly, the quality of the relationship is of primary concern, and one must assume that the role of the volunteer is that of counselor/friend. This is especially true if the FIRO-B is utilized as NICOV suggests because that test is designed

1. to measure how an individual acts in interpersonal situations, and

2. to provide an instrument that will facilitate the predictions of interaction between people (Schutz, 1967: 4).

But there lies still another old wineskin which may have hampered the

progress of probation: a belief in the universal applicability of the counseling technique and the casework approach. Moreover, it is an assumption that does not do justice to the work of John Augustus. While he was "convinced that many offenders required no more than the sincere interest of another human being to be able to straighten out their lives [Dressler, 1969: 24]," he operated in 1841 with a differential treatment approach. A "foster home" (Augustus' own) was provided if needed by an offender, others were returned to their own homes, necessary food and clothing was available, and those who could work were required to do so (Dressler, 1969: 24).

As probation work was taken over by professionals, especially social workers, a strong inclination emerged to look, not to the social conditions in the society as did the early "child-savers," but to the psychodynamics of the offender. The task of the probation worker came to be thus defined: "to induce proper motives, to aid in the achievement of insight and self-respect, and to change the attitudes of the offender [Diana, 1970: 47]." This definition has been extended to the role of the volunteer. Thus, the clinical orientation has not been relinquished and the tendency is to place responsibility for deviance on the intrapsychic condition of the offender. This inappropriately implies that the larger society is not implicated and that it is relieved of the burden of undertaking the structural changes that are ultimately called for if the more fundamental causes of delinquency are to be effectively countered.

Future Directions and Needs

Given this somewhat gloomy commentary on the limitations which hinder the progress of the volunteer programs, it is appropriate and necessary to consider some of the possibilities that might provide for meaningful changes. / In examining the alternatives for future program development, the problem areas can be identified as structural and organizational, the operationalization of the concepts of rehabilitation, and the relationship between the program and the community. /

The nature of problems generated by structural considerations will depend to some extent upon the nature of the relationship between the court and the volunteer program. A volunteer program often is initiated at the suggestion of a judge or court official in response to federal recommendations, or perhaps to the publicity afforded such programs. A program thus conceived can be expected to be characterized by a relatively high degree of integration into the ongoing structure of the probation services. However, there are certain problems inherent in this mode of volunteer utilization. A critical area is that of staff receptivity of the volunteer probation officers. This point deserves attention as it relates to the future of lay personnel in correctional programs overall. Staff resistance to the use of volunteers is a common phenomenon and cannot be discounted as professional jealousy or as simple reluctance to innovate. While the utilization of volunteers is conceived as a solution to the problem of

excessive caseloads, the volunteer program does not, in fact, automatically reduce the workload of the probation officers.

The truth is, volunteers create more work and greater challenge for regular staff. It is far tougher for staff to have a volunteer program than not to have one. What's worth it are the results . . . but it's not for lazy people [Volunteers for Social Justice, 1973: 12]. [Emphasis as in original.]

While the results are not yet in evidence, it is optimistic to anticipate the staff welcoming the volunteers. Depending on the organizational structure of the individual courts, the involvement of each probation officer with a volunteer will vary as will the probable areas of conflict. Some services proceed from an arrangement whereby the probation officer to whom the offender was originally assigned remains the major staff contact for the volunteer throughout the probation period. The volunteer works most intensively with the offender while the staff member provides guidance as needed. The probation officer is ultimately counseling two people, one of whom may require that he have some expertise in public relations. Points of contention can be imagined to multiply rapidly. A volunteer cannot be expected to be aware of the legal and financial exigencies restricting action being taken in behalf of "his" offender, and may react in a manner interpreted by the professional as unrealistic and demanding. Recalling the bureaucratic structure of state court services, the probation officer may have acquired a certain cynical resignation about possibilities for action and find it more comfortable and less threatening to refrain from referring offenders for volunteer assignment.

From the perspective of the probation officer, another source of dissatisfaction can be inferred. The professional staff member may often prefer working directly with the offender. It is his career. Already operating in a morass of paperwork, the probation officer is removed one step further from the role of social worker by enforced abdication to the volunteer. Thus, Wolfgang urged,

Give me a system which permits him [the parole officer] to do what the principles of parole suggest and which requires merely a summary statement after a long relationship. Our officers are overloaded not so much with cases as with self-defeating unused reports to their own agencies [Wolfgang, 1972: 17].

The situation is identical for the probation officer, and, ideally, the volunteer is supposed to be ameliorative in this respect. However, this is not the case. Administrative detail remains the responsibility of the probation officer. (Volunteers judged unsuitable for direct offender contact are, suggests NICOV, to be assigned to administrative and clerical functions. Unless the task can somehow be construed as "meaningful," problems with the retention of volunteers so assigned might reasonably be predicted.)

A variation of volunteer assignment to staff supervision is to divert all lay-assigned offenders to one probation officer after the initial referral and pairing has been accomplished. The choice between these organizational options depends, of course, on the availability of personnel and the degree to which integration of the volunteer program into the total structure of the probation services is desired. The latter plan would seem more likely to reduce the areas of potential conflict and to increase the number of referrals for

volunteer assignment.

The relationship in which the court services stand vis a vis the larger community represents still another problem area. At this time, the court simply is not viewed as a "helping agent." Efforts to emphasize the rehabilitative intent of probation notwithstanding, assignment to probation is often construed as punishment by the offender, his family, the plaintiff, and the community. Thus, the volunteer working within a court-related program will confront this block against acceptance of agents of the correctional system as friends and counselors.

A less perilous alternative might be to structure the volunteer program as a separate entity. One such program is PARTNERS, INC., in Denver, Colorado. It is a private service program for the juvenile court, but is

set up as an "exclusive club" and juvenile court clients are invited to join; no one is forced into the program. The clients come from two stages in the court system: (1) Probationers--thus allowing PARTNERS to serve as a rehabilitative program for young recidivists, and (2) First or second offenders who are diverted directly to PARTNERS by the juvenile court intake unit rather than into the formal court system programs [Kobetz and Bosarge, 1973: 406-07].

The PARTNER, like the FIA volunteer, is not a probation officer, and thus will not be subject to client interpretation of his role as that of an extension of the control of the court over him. Further, problems related to the integration of the volunteers with the professional staff are eliminated. It is reported that programs frequently are developed within the community, initiated by citizens, rather than

at the behest of the court. While some of these have eventually been integrated into a court volunteer program, there is nothing to preclude the possibility of such a program operating with federal or state funding and offering a wide variety of treatment techniques, but standing apart from the probation department and the court.

It is recognized that the internal organizational structure of the probation departments and of the programs themselves present numerous difficulties. The successful continuance of a volunteer program will be contingent upon the resolution of these problems, as well as those which are theoretical in nature. Publications available ~~to the courts~~ offer realistic suggestions regarding management skills of the volunteer coordinator, techniques for enhancing staff receptivity, and volunteer satisfaction. (The Appendix provides an additional reference list which notes a wide range of related literature.)

Regardless of the manner in which structural and organizational problems are resolved, a program strategy must be determined whereby the goals and objectives of the program are operationalized. The problem of goal-setting is exceedingly complex as it involves decisions as to the choice of treatment modes and the utilization of volunteers, and sets the criteria by which a program will finally be evaluated. This final point will involve an assessment of the degree to which a volunteer program fulfills its internal objectives, and also presents to the community the grounds upon which it can properly be held accountable.

The problem of goal-setting can be reduced to a deceptively simple propositional statement: Decide what is to be done to whom and by whom. A sophisticated model of that decision-making process was described by Dr. Richard Moore:

Dr. Gary S. Kearney produced a stochastic optimization model which integrated data from the volunteer and probationer population into a mathematical model which maximized the likelihood of success using different kinds of assignment strategies. For example, one strategy would be aimed at producing the highest percentage of persons with no additional criminal offenses. Such a strategy might assign the best volunteers to the persons who were the lower-risk population among the high-risk group. Another strategy would be to produce the lowest average value for additional criminal offenses among the group. This strategy might lead to assigning the best counselors to the highest-risk individuals. Following this strategy might mean that a few of the lower-risk people would commit some additional offenses which might not have occurred had they been assigned to excellent counselors. At the same time, the excellent counselors are able to work with the highest-risk persons so that there is a reduction in the number of offenses which they might commit.

I worked with Dr. Kearney on this statistical model and feel that it might prove of some value in the future. In any event, it does represent a significant contribution of sorts to the area of volunteers working in probation programming. I doubt, however, whether many other programs would be in position to utilize this sort of decision-making procedure [Moore, May 31, 1974].

Admittedly, this model would require a technical competence not routinely found in volunteer coordinators, but the basic concept of the critical role of decision-making is certainly made clear. The choice of goals, finally, is less critical than the making of that choice. The limited goal of diversion of the first-offender is no less valuable than that of rehabilitating the hard-core recidivist.

Once goals are defined, they can then be operationalized through application of the treatment modalities which can best be expected to achieve those goals. (Unless a specific target population

is selected, it will not be feasible to posit the success of a volunteer program on the application of only one treatment approach. It is suggested here that the volunteer programs look to a differential treatment approach which will include the theoretical models discussed previously and that they proceed with the treatment tactics which follow from these models. As was apparent in the chapters regarding the theoretical orientations and program evaluations of the volunteers in courts programs, the relationship between theory and practice is often tenuous at best. It is helpful to recall Gibbons' definition of therapy for correctional clients, which states in part that the conditions thought to be responsible for the offender's deviance are to be identified, and "the steps which are taken to 'change' or rehabilitate the offender are designed to alter some or all of the conditions specified in the treatment rationale as causally responsible for the person's undesirable behavior [Gibbons, 1965: 130]." Of course, this implies that a decision has been made as to what shall be considered "desirable" behavior, and while this may open a Pandora's box of ethical reservations about the making of such choices, the task is unavoidable. This is not to imply that all offenders shall be remade into some approximation of the middle-class ideal. Certainly, such decisions must be based on a realistic assessment of the amount of change reasonably to be expected as well as the direction of that change given the background, intelligence, and opportunities open to the individual offender.

A productive approach might be one which is based on the prior

identification of offender needs from which the treatment plan flows in the manner outlined by Greenwood:

Ideally, the practitioner should function in the following manner: He is confronted with a problem, which is a state of disequilibrium requiring rectification. He examines the problem situation both internally and externally. On the basis of the facts ascertained, he appraises the problem situation. On the strength of his appraisal, he prescribes a mode of solution. He then undertakes the solution, which re-establishes the equilibrium. This process is customarily referred to as diagnosis and treatment. . . .

To diagnose a problem implies that, on the basis of certain facts observed in the problem situation, it is already correctly placed with an existing typology. A typology is a classification scheme in which each category or type represents a constellation of factors. . . . A well-developed practice has at its disposal a highly refined diagnostic typology that embraces the entire gamut of problems confronted by that discipline. There has been formulated for each diagnostic type a series of generalizing propositions, both descriptive and prescriptive. The former propositions describe the properties, behavior, etiology, and life cycle of the type; the latter prescribe the steps to be pursued in ascertaining whether a given problem is classifiable within a type. Together, these propositions make up the diagnostic principles of a practice [Gibbons, 1965: 3]. [Emphasis as in original.

Greenwood further suggested the formulation of a typology of treatment procedures with the principles of treatment which describe

operationally the stages in the treatment, indicate when the treatment is appropriate, and specify the criteria, preferably mensurative, whereby success or failure may be ascertained. The diagnostic and treatment typologies are, of course, employed together by the practitioner. Thus, each class description of the diagnostic typology contains implications for a certain type or types of treatment . . . [Gibbons, 1965: 4].

Such an approach is productive in two respects. First, by setting out the treatment procedures and specific criteria by which success or failure may be ascertained, as Greenwood suggests. The definition of the goals and objectives of the program is clarified.

Then, as the effectiveness of that program is assessed on the basis of those criteria, an assessment is also provided of the efficacy of the rehabilitative techniques employed.

As was mentioned earlier, several schemes of classification have been developed to differentiate between types of offenders and types of workers. Perhaps none of these will remain unsurpassed in terms of their utility. They can serve, however, as bases for comparison as tools of the work of rehabilitation. Since it must be conceded that the social sciences cannot claim to have developed an unassailable theory of rehabilitation, these "devices intended to institute precise comparisons [Martindale, 1959: 88]" will provide a direction for program planning. The classification system need not be an elaborate one, but it should be sufficiently comprehensive to ensure that the several types of offenders most frequently passing through the particular court system can be "diagnosed" and the appropriate helping technique employed. Further, the initiation of a categorization scheme is within the purview of the volunteer program, regardless of its relationship to the existing court services. Clearly, those programs which are structured apart from the court can exercise considerable freedom in the determination of treatment tactics, and, for the ongoing programs attached to probation services, there exists, within the "mandate" to assign volunteers to offenders, a unique opportunity for innovative treatment techniques.

Despite the difficulties to be encountered in integration into the probation services, these programs stand in a somewhat felicitous

relationship to the correctional system. The full facilities of the probation service and related service agencies may be utilized through accepted channels, but, in terms of actual assignment of probationer to volunteer, the coordinator or director of the volunteers has enormous leeway. Regardless of the existing treatment design (if any) of the probation department to which the volunteers are attached, the actual matching may be accomplished by whatever means appear rational.

An illustration of this point is provided by the Lincoln-Lancaster court program because it applies matching techniques within a differential treatment construct defined by types of relationships, thus reflecting what Greenwood termed a "constellation of factors."

(1) Model for Identification. "The probationer lacks a suitable adult model [Moore, 1972: 8]." Care is taken to match the offender and volunteer on important variables such as age, occupation, socioeconomic status, and interests of the volunteer, so that a suitable and realistic role model might be presented.

(2) Friend-Companion. "Often the youth is rebelling against the family and/or community. The youth requires a dependable friend whom he or she can trust [Moore, 1972: 8]." No special counseling skill is required.

(3) Supervisory. This type of assignment is appropriate for a probationer with "very limited personal assets. A basic goal is to maintain them functioning in the community outside of an institution [Moore, 1972: 9]." The volunteer is expected to recognize these

limitations and to expect only small gains.

(4) Primary Counseling. "Persons with Master's Degrees in counseling and graduate students in counseling fields, such as psychology and social work, have served in this type of relationship [Moore, 1972: 9]." In this case, the probationer is one who has been evaluated as suffering from personal or emotional problems and who is amenable to a counseling approach.

While the linkages between theory and treatment are not explicitly stated in this differential treatment typology, they are clearly present. It is through the matching of type of offender to type of volunteer that the tactics evolving from the causal analysis are carried out, but the emphasis is not on the counseling abilities of the volunteer unless the treatment technique of counseling is specifically indicated.

To employ a classification scheme which requires that types of offenders be identified on concrete bases of comparison does not threaten the individuality of the offender as Scheier feared when he voiced his reservations about "probation panaceas . . . that clump offenders together under common conditions, common attitudes, common causation [U.S. Department of Justice, 1972: 91]." Certainly, it would be overly simplistic to assume that any one theoretical model would be appropriate for the rehabilitation of all offenders, but it seems readily apparent that the individuality of the offender is safeguarded by the recognition that not all offenders need a role model, nor a "friend," nor psychotherapy, nor, as was evidenced in

Moore's (1972) evaluative research, a volunteer.

When evaluations of program effectiveness are made, interpretations that are based on an undifferentiated pool of offenders are not only misleading, but they are not fruitful. For example, if 55 percent of an undifferentiated group of probationers recidivated, it cannot be denied that the probation period was effective in nearly half the cases, but neither can the rehabilitative modality employed be defended, as it failed to rehabilitate over half the offenders. Had a previous determination been made of the types of offenders and of the respective treatment tactics thought appropriate for each type, the recidivism rates would have constituted an assessment of the degree of efficacy of each treatment modality. Its degree of effectiveness with the specified offender type would be indicated as would possible innovations of treatment plans.

It must be admitted that while the recommendation is made here that the volunteer programs proceed from a differential treatment approach, it cannot be said with certainty that successful probation outcomes will result. A critical need exists for evaluative research which confirms the effectiveness of types of treatment tactics when directed toward specified types of offenders. In this regard, the volunteer programs provide an opportunity for research to be undertaken which will test the adequacy of the theoretical models. Thus, the approach which on a practical level provides for an evaluation of program adequacy, also provides an opportunity for volunteer programs to make meaningful contributions to the field of

correctional research. / Once goals are defined, the treatment tactics which are developed carry with them implications for resource allocation. Volunteers are a low-cost source of manpower, but they are scarce and they are not free. Allocation of this resource can best be determined if objectives are set that indicate the most effective placement of volunteers' skills and of their numbers. /

Linked to the issue of goal determination is that of the accountability of the correctional system for the consequences of the implementation of a rehabilitation technique. In three areas, program planners must be held accountable--to the offender, to the worker, and ultimately to the larger society. On purely humanitarian grounds, objections should be raised against any ill-defined, badly-conceived manipulation of the life of an human being who has been convicted of a crime. With respect to the accountability of the correctional system to the paid or unpaid worker, the implications are several. First, it is frustrating for the professional in corrections to be involved in the implementation of programs that offer minimal likelihood of success or personal satisfaction in exchange for the expended effort. For the citizen devoting his energy without remuneration, it is similarly disillusioning and alienating. Further, it bodes ill for the success of future programs which would look to community participation. / The obligations owed by the criminal justice system to the society stem not only from the fact that it is incumbent upon the correctional system to fulfill its function for the society in a way most likely to ensure the maintenance

of equilibrium, but also because of the obvious responsibility to the taxpayer who supports that system. The substantial costs of volunteer programs by itself demands this level of accountability.

In the studies acquired for this research alone, a total of nine grants from the U.S. Department of Justice, the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the National Institute of Mental Health were obtained by the volunteer programs involved, and this represents but a minuscule fraction of the 2,000 programs that are reported to exist (U.S. Department of Justice, 1972: 1). Moreover, this does not include state expenditures, funding provided by local agencies such as the United Fund or the Community Chest, and private foundations.

Guidelines and Standards for the Use of Volunteers in Correctional Programs cautions that "volunteer programs are not free [U.S. Department of Justice, 1972: 135]," but it fails to mention that their initial establishment is expensive. After the program has been set up and the routine expenses taken over by the state, it is estimated that this source of manpower will cost "approximately \$1 - \$1.50 per volunteer hour when the costs of staff supervision are considered, as they should be [U.S. Department of Justice, 1972: 136]." Additional costs include: ~~reimbursements to volunteers of expenses~~ incurred; costs of mailing of monthly reports; newsletters and notices; publication of a Volunteer Handbook or Orientation Manual; costs related to training and recruitment; and so on. A recommended approximate figure is

\$100 - \$150 per volunteer per year. As you dip below this . . . you risk a stunted, thwarted program, inadequately supported, and not properly accountable to the agency . . . Some programs spend \$400 - \$600 per year per volunteer. This does render fine support for the unique qualities of service which volunteers can contribute, but it also makes a volunteer program harder to justify. Thus, this same \$400 - \$600 per volunteer per year for fifteen volunteers would also pay a full-time professional working with an intensive caseload of only 15. This professional could spend three to five hours a week with each offender, which is as much as most programs expect a volunteer to spend [U.S. Department of Justice, 1972: 139]!

In analyzing the costs of the volunteer program, it is necessary to take into consideration the monetary savings which appear in this comparison of the cost of volunteer and professional workers in terms of man-hours. On the other hand, a quantitative analysis of hours contributed is not synonymous with qualitative analysis. To say that the volunteers contributed 10,000 man-hours at a cost of roughly one dollar per hour provides no information as to the effectiveness of volunteer involvement. Unless the role of the volunteer can be confirmed to be a viable alternative when compared to other available rehabilitative techniques, there is no justification for the continued use of volunteers regardless of the economy of the project. Again, the need is apparent for a rigorous evaluation of the contribution of the volunteer program to the attainment of the goal of offender rehabilitation, not only in the interests of building the empirical evidence so badly needed in the area of correctional research, but to provide a means by which the volunteer program satisfies its accountability to the citizens who support it.

Community Participation

In the implementation of a program whose very existence depends on the voluntary cooperation of members of the community, caution must be exercised to ensure that the experiences of citizens who do participate serve as a motivation for their continued cooperation and as a source of positive feedback into the community. The publications recommended to the courts in the Appendix provide several concrete suggestions for enlisting community support, for enhancing volunteer satisfaction, and techniques of recruitment and training, which need not be repeated here. It is important to call attention to a critical difference between the volunteer in correctional programs and the volunteers who serve in other types of associations and community projects. A volunteer worker in the hospital setting, for example, immediately perceives the results of her efforts to provide comfort or to perform tasks directly related to patient care. There is no constant reinforcement of the volunteer in corrections. The impact of the volunteers may not immediately be perceptible, and any gratification gained from the hours of work may be far from immediate. It is the responsibility of the program planners to provide the supportive confirmation of the volunteer's importance in the correctional process.

While the sources of volunteers may vary from the Junior League to the well-screened exoffender, the critical determinant of volunteer satisfaction will be the perception of success in contributing to the rehabilitation of offenders not only on an individual basis, but as

part of a total program effort. Thus, the participation of the citizen is seen to be ultimately contingent upon the adequacy of program design. While it may be helpful to use such devices as "service pins" or "recognition certificates," the unique nature of the role of the correctional volunteer indicates that these traditional "rewards" for volunteer service are not likely to prove to be sufficient motivation for continuing participation. Unless supportive evidence can be presented to confirm the effectiveness of the volunteer in the correctional program, community support cannot be expected to endure. Again, the issue is the strength of the relationship between theory, research, and program planning. When objectives have been defined, the operationalization of treatment strategies will indicate the proper utilization of volunteers, and the implementation of a self-monitoring system combined with rigorous evaluation of the efficacy of theoretically-grounded treatment tactics will provide the empirical evidence vital to confirming the necessity of volunteer involvement.

An auxiliary benefit to be derived from planning modes of volunteer assignment to flow from the treatment approaches will appear during the monitoring of the program. As the treatment tactics themselves are assessed, the differential effectiveness of types of volunteer utilization will emerge. Perhaps the need will be indicated for the diversion of certain types of offenders to the minimal supervision of traditional probation. The coordinator will be aware that the treatment approach has been "wasting" volunteers, a situation with important implications for resource allocation, as well as volunteer

satisfaction.

Research in the area of matching techniques has revealed that the young minority male appears to work well with all types of offenders, and NICOV recommends the intensification of recruitment efforts in this direction. However, it is submitted here that the salient features which account for his effectiveness must be sought in an examination of the type of relationship that exists between that volunteer and the probationer. A restructuring of the theoretical approaches utilized in the treatment plans seems to be indicated. For instance, if the theoretical orientation is one based on notions of psychogenic causation, and the young minority male is the most effective counselor, must it be concluded that counseling ability is inherent in minority status? This is not to say that the effectiveness of the minority counselor is disputed. It is to assert that further inquiry into the qualities of that volunteer to which the offender is responding is likely to reveal the inadequacy of the theoretical orientation. To know that minority males are effective without knowing why creates a situation in which the factors contributing to the successful probation outcome cannot be replicated in other probation programs simply because the factors are unknown. It is vital to the success of volunteer programs that the tactics which have been shown to be effective also be amenable to replication and that probation programming be lifted above the level of the ad hoc application of techniques that give the appearance of effectiveness with no explanation of that effectiveness. Certainly, the success of the minority volunteer

indicates that he brings to the probation setting a background of experiences to which the offender can relate and that he projects an image of having gained access to the legitimate structure despite socioeconomic constraints. The implication for future classification of types of offenders is that close attention be given to the variables involved in an analysis based on differential access to the opportunity structure as strong indicators of the conditioning responsible for the undesirable behavior. Then, as Gibbons suggests, the thrust of the treatment plan will be directed toward changing the conditions, and the rehabilitation effort will be grounded on theory rather than speculation. As was mentioned previously, research is only recently underway in the refinement of the matching techniques, and it is an area that is certain to receive intensive examination since the primary mode of volunteer utilization is the one-to-one relationship. While it cannot be denied that the quality of the interpersonal relationship will exert a definite influence on the degree of volunteer effectiveness, it is recommended here that the volunteer programs proceed with a slightly different orientation than that currently employed. It seems that the most expedient means of ensuring that offender needs are being met is to begin with a prior classification of offenders based on assumptions of causation, and match the volunteer to the offender on the criteria of volunteer capabilities in altering the conditions or the offender's response to those conditions. To emphasize the quality of the interpersonal relationship as primary is to focus on the less critical variables in

determining the probability of a successful probation outcome.

Summary


The recommendations advanced for the future directions of the volunteer movement are modest ones, and they are not intended as naive guarantees for program success. The constant reiteration of the need for treatment rationales based on theoretical principles is not intended to convey to the reader a picture of dismal failure. Instead, it is hoped that those responsible for program planning will exercise the options open to them and set the volunteer programs on a course that will permit their acceptance as viable alternative treatment techniques. This can only be accomplished if the foundations of the programs are firmly seated in behavioral principles that are known to be theoretically sound and when the tactics employed have been shown to be effective in methodologically adequate research.

Stouffer commented that

A basic problem in the thoughtways of our culture is the implicit assumption that anybody with a little common sense and a few facts can come up at once with the correct answer on any subject. . . . It is not the habit to demand evidence from an idea, plausibility is enough [Stouffer, 1950: 355].

However, plausibility is not enough when the problem is one of such crucial importance to society and, because the volunteer programs represent an opportunity for the community to reassume responsibility for the offender, they constitute an important potential force for effecting major changes in relationship between the correctional system and the larger society. | Since World War II, the community has

handed over the offender to the professionals of the criminal justice system and has said, in effect, that it is not a community problem, but the problem of the correctional system. The involvement of a significant number of citizens in these community-based treatment programs indicates that this attitude is open to change, and it is incumbent upon the volunteer programs that the quality of their work reinforce this shift. At this time, the volunteers in courts programs are enjoying the benefits of federal funding and of a generally optimistic assessment of the possibilities of their success. Thus, it is of paramount importance that substantive evidence be offered to verify that optimism and to assure continued support. A problem unique to the volunteer programs which may work against their acceptance is a lingering image in this society of the volunteer as a well-intentioned do-gooder who has a vague, although commendable, desire to "help his fellow men." Such an image can only be overcome by the evidence presented by the programs themselves of their intent to proceed with a scientific approach to the problems in reducing criminality.

Admittedly, the concern for linkages between theory, practice and research is a point which has been belabored here. However, it is a concern that must receive attention if community-based treatment utilizing volunteers is to become an established rehabilitative technique. 

EPILOGUE

While it is not fashionable for the sociologist to admit to a lack of objectivity in the conduct of research, the reader has certainly detected an underlying note of pessimism regarding the future success of volunteer programs. This does not result from problems inherent in the programs themselves, for those problems can be corrected, and it is hoped that the modest proposals advanced here will contribute to an alleviation of some of the more serious difficulties. The pessimism which must be acknowledged stems from what may be a "terminal case of cynicism" which became recognizable as the views of this researcher were contrasted with the humanitarian ideals of many of those involved in the volunteer movement. For example, when the question of the future of volunteerism was broached in conversations with advocates of the volunteer movement, a new conception of the role of the probation officer was advanced. In this view, the role of the professional will come to be one of directing the many volunteers who carry out the actual work of probation. Assuming the probation officer to be agreeable to this basic change in the concept of social work, the realization of such a vision clearly depends on the existence of large numbers of citizens who are committed to bringing about social change. It is a vision which reveals much about the moral and ethical convictions of the speakers, but nothing about the likelihood of such a situation ever existing. Supportive evidence cannot be offered.

Historically, however, only a small segment of the population has done the actual work of volunteering. In general, the publicity surrounding the concept of volunteerism is disproportionate to the number of persons who are actively involved. Even those political leaders who take a strong public stance which advocates volunteer endeavors cannot be assumed to have ever served as volunteers themselves. The reports of federal commissions recommending the use of volunteers in corrections supply no formula for attracting a sufficient number to effect the anticipated changes in probation outcomes.

Regrettably, research for this paper uncovered no prescription to cure the ills of probation and the remedy suggested by the avid proponents of volunteerism is based on a view of the nature of man that is so benign and so at odds with the researcher's world-view as to reveal the speakers as incurable optimists. Were their view an accurate one, such phrases as "civil rights," "equal opportunity," and "cruel and unusual punishment" would never have been coined. But they were, and legislation has been required to enforce the "humanity" of man to man. The prognosis for the curing of social ills seems bleak indeed if it hinges on a radical upsurge in the numbers of American citizens who are willing to pursue the goal with unselfish devotion.

Perhaps, the critical turning point would be the coming about of changes in the value system of this society. Is it possible to build an unselfish society? One of Kurt Vonnegut's characters in The Breakfast of Champions gives a conditional answer:

When Kilgore Trout accepted the Nobel Prize for Medicine in 1979, he declared: "Some people say there is no such thing as progress. The fact that human beings are now the only animals left on Earth, I confess, seems a confusing sort of victory. Those of you familiar with the nature of my earlier published works will understand why I mourned especially when the last beaver died.

"There were two monsters sharing this planet with us when I was a boy, however, and I celebrate their extinction today. They were determined to kill us, or at least to make our lives meaningless. They came close to success. They were cruel adversaries, which my little friends the beavers were not. Lions? No. Tigers? No. Lions and tigers snoozed most of the time. The monsters I will name never snoozed. They inhabited our heads. They were the arbitrary lusts for gold, and, God help us, for a glimpse of a little girl's underpants.

"I thank those lusts for being so ridiculous, for they taught us that it was possible for a human being to believe anything, and to behave passionately in keeping with that belief--any belief.

"So now we can build an unselfish society by devoting to unselfishness the frenzy we once devoted to gold and to underpants [Vonnegut, 1973: 25]." [Emphasis as in original.]

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

A SELECTED REFERENCE LIST

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